

T.L.S.

14717

THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

FRIDAY • 7 JANUARY 1977 • No 3,904 • 20p

كتاب في الأصل

The Enlightenment
in America

Edmund Ludlow,
Puritan and Whig
by Blair Worden

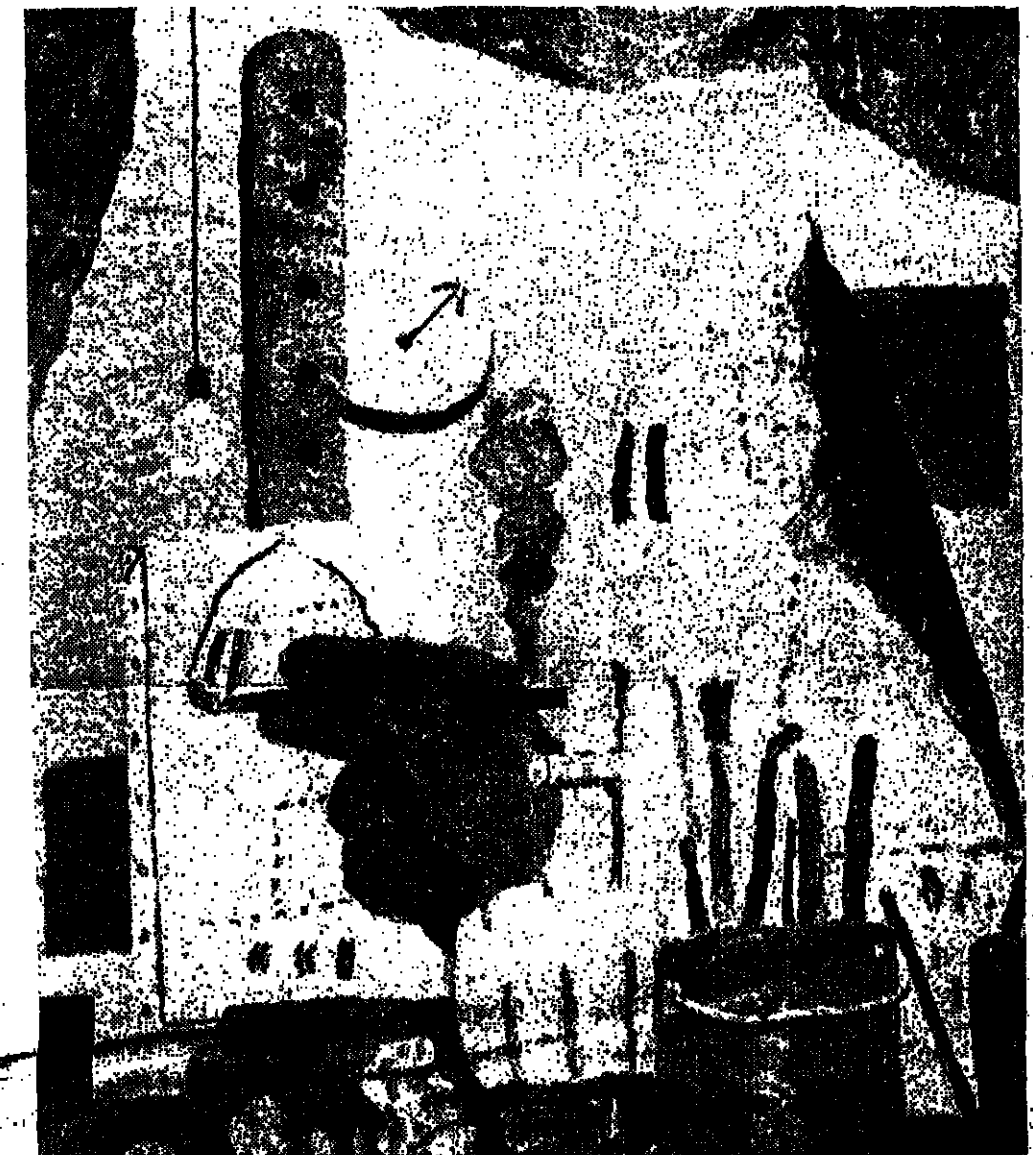
The art of
Philip Guston

Nabokov and
the Englishing
of Pushkin

The cult of Aphrodite;
Indian erotic arts

The making of
Kingston, Jamaica

Commentary:
Astrologers,
Psychoanalysts, Marxists



The Studio, 1969, by Philip Guston: Dore Ashton's critical study of the artist, Yes, but... is reviewed on page 5 by Norbert Lynton.

Music: Josef and Rosina
Lhevinne and the
Russian tradition

James Purdy; Poor whites in
fiction; The middle-class novel

New religions for old

The cultivation of science

By Roy Porter

HERBERT LEVENTHAL:
In the Shadow of the Enlightenment
Occultism and Renaissance Science
in Eighteenth Century America
330pp. New York University Press.
\$15.

HENRY F. MAY:
The Enlightenment in America
419pp. Oxford University Press.
\$35.

The Enlightenment pinned its hopes on the power of the mind expressed through the pen. Ironically, its most complete victory with this weapon has been to denigrate and disarm its own subsequent historians. The philosophes excoriated this paralysing fascination because they dictated the terms by which they themselves were to be judged. Enlightenment versus "unenlightened", progressive versus conservative—how can the historic transition be fielded in the battle into value-neutral categories? The very words by which we describe it pronounce the Enlightenment to be "a good thing".

Precisely this tyranny of stereotypes infected Herbert Leventhal's *In the Shadow of the Enlightenment*, as his very title blazes forth. His subject is the shadowy survival of "Renaissance" scientific beliefs in pre-1776 America, before they were dispelled by the Enlightenment. He explores the hopes of the future. It left its opponents the ruins of the past.

Precisely this tyranny of stereotypes infected Herbert Leventhal's *In the Shadow of the Enlightenment*, as his very title blazes forth. His subject is the shadowy survival of "Renaissance" scientific beliefs in pre-1776 America, before they were dispelled by the Enlightenment. He explores the hopes of the future. It left its opponents the ruins of the past.

supreme. By way of contrast, Dr Leventhal also presupposes—though more by suggestion than explicitly—an Enlightenment world-picture. In this, all such myths and magic have been abandoned. Newtonian gravity, natural law, empirical methods, atomism, experiment and observation have triumphed. The world has become secular and disenchanted.

Having established these parameters, Dr Leventhal's main claim is that in America up to the 1770s—which *prima facie* one might have thought "enlightened"—the "Elizabethan world-picture" though waning, in fact remained powerful, even hegemonic. The bulk of the book marshals evidence for this, in successive departments of his inquiry. Thus astrology, albeit a subject in a state of decline, maintained a popular hold. Though judicial astrology never flourished in America and medical astrology was confined to blood-letting, almanacs continued to print astrological economies (and zodiacs), as keys to character and prognosis of the future. Almanac compilers made their own fortunes out of horoscopes. Folklore and agricultural maxims continued to assert that the heavens governed weather and climate.

In revulsion against the carnage of the Salem witch trials of 1692, witchcraft accusations became rare in the courts of colonial America. But witch beliefs and accusations persisted throughout the next century. In 1813 a bewitched horse in Maine was cured by cutting off its ears and applying a red-hot shovel to them. Other magical practices enjoyed a halo of age, especially among the German community in Pennsylvania, which boasted a number of professional magicians, such as the Rosicrucian Christophorus Wilt, who engaged in ceremonial magic, finding lost and stolen property and employing the alchemical rod.

America also sported its share of alchemists—men such as Ezra Stiles, Aeneas Munson and Ebenezer Caneham. Alchemical lore held place, alike in scientific texts and in diaries and commonplace books. Similarly, medical treatises and practice continued to underwrite the "holy" doctrine of humours and spirits, while American natural philosophy retained the concept of the terrestrial element (though Dr Leventhal seems at times more con-

cerned to chart the survival of the words themselves, without closely scrutinizing how far content and meaning had survived intact, or been transformed).

The Renaissance idea of the Great Chain of Being still articulated and ordered the universe for most eighteenth-century Americans. It justified the social hierarchy. In the work of Charles Morton or Cotton Mather, it also proved the reality of immaterial existences like angels. Dr Leventhal shows how alien to colonial cosmology was the Ptolemaic nightmare of a world merely of matter in motion.

On the contrary, the hierarchical, divine cosmos, possessed of its own inherent order, providential purposes, and spiritual government, retained its credit. Relics even of Ptolemaic geocentrism lingered into the eighteenth century at Yale. Furthermore, in Samuel Johnson's America boasted its own authentic anti-Newtonianism. Johnson popularized the scriptural-literalist natural philosophy of John Hutchinson, as expounded by the latter in *Moses's Principles and Glory Mechanic*, a philosophy which rebuked Newton's vacuum and void space as atheistical, and unveiled the elements of the cosmos, Fire, Light and Air, as symbols of the Holy Trinity.

All this information is good to have, and one must pay tribute to Dr Leventhal's industry. But of it is new, and the author establishes a longer life-span for certain "obsolete" occult phenomena than is generally credited. However, tracking down vestigial remains and obituarizing belated survivals becomes a tedious exercise. Much of the book is spent hovering over the declining years of "irrational" beliefs doomed to imminent extinction, awaiting their death throes. To label beliefs in this way as "irrational" is to mark-out which became corpse first, diverts the mind from the really serious questions.

One such question, not faced squarely by Dr Leventhal, is whether occult Renaissance beliefs survived longer in America than in Europe, and if so, why. On the one hand, certain contemporary Americans believed that they were far outshine in Enlightenment by Europeans. An anonymous critic of

1801 complained:

We fear it will be hardly credited in Europe, and in the distant parts of America, that within the city of New York, famous as it is for enterprise, genius, learning, and talents, the almanacks teach the people who read them that each constellation in the zodiac presides over a particular part of the animal body.

Yet Dr Leventhal also shows that most printed books disseminating the occult sciences in the colonies were in fact of European provenance, where they were still popular—works such as Cuipeper's *English physician*, Benjamin Martin's *Philosophical grammar* or Chambers's *Cyclopaedia*.

Colonial America did, it is true, sprout one indigenous occult belief: rustic magic, a superstition, which generated a puzzled and sensational literature. But British and Continental naturalists were no more "enlightened" in their reactions to this belief. Indeed, its critics, such as Benjamin Smith Barton, came from within America itself.

Furthermore, some magical beliefs never took root in America (America has never been sympathetic to fairies), and others lost their grip earlier in the American colonies than elsewhere. Take witch executions. The Salem trials saw the last witches hanged in America (not burnt: only slaves were burnt). The comparable dates are, for Scotland, 1727; for France, 1745; for Germany, 1775; for Poland, 1793.

But the main problem is the question-begging teleology which suffuses Dr Leventhal's book. He presupposes a set of beliefs termed "occults" with connotations of being irrational and pre-scientific, and labels them "Renaissance" or "sixteenth-century" or "Elizabethan". He knows that these were to be superseded by more "scientific", more "rational", more "enlightened" views. He charts the fact that the earlier beliefs had greater tenacity than has commonly been assumed for which we are grateful. But he hardly addresses himself even to the immediate question of why "Renaissance" beliefs continued so long in currency.

And because he scarcely poses even this question, he fails to probe the deeper issues which would have led him to question his own mis-

leading-categories. For perhaps the historical problem has been misconceived. The very act of labelling as "Renaissance" or "Elizabethan" such concepts as "Chain of Being", the natural element, or water-divining already sets up the expectation that they will be obsolete by the eighteenth century. But why should we regard these as eighteenth-century beliefs in their own right? We not distinguish use from origin. For then we can begin to pose a more fruitful question: why should such "Renaissance" beliefs have begun to be superseded? For a definitive and unambiguous explanation, the leading terms "enlightened" and "pre-enlightened" and "anti-Enlightenment"—as Dr Leventhal does—is not to explain them, and may even hinder explanation. To take one of Dr Leventhal's chief examples: Hutchinsonianism. He classes it as anti-Enlightenment movement. And with much good reason. For the English Hutchinsonians did see themselves as crusading against modern decadence—though Samuel Johnson categorized by Henry May as part of his "Moderate Enlightenment". Yet the Hutchinsonians claimed that theirs was the true mechanical philosophy (unlike Newtonianism, with its obscure and magical idea of action at a distance). Theirs was also truly materialistic, for they insisted on a plenum. Can mechanism and materialism be entirely foreign to the Enlightenment?

Here Dr Leventhal labours and two difficulties. One is of method. He chronicles the fate of beliefs considering them as part of an autonomous march of ideas. I pay little attention to why they were held. The other is that he has a far too simple vision of "Renaissance" and "Enlightenment". He conceives them as monolithic abstractions, which in some ways mutually exclusive. In the century, however, which he is studying, there is another, intervening, monolith which is hardly spelt out, but always waiting in the wings of a book: the scientific revolution (The entire seventeenth century is curiously absent from Dr Leventhal's book).

Recent research, however, is rightly being tending to break down the autonomy of these monoliths and stressing their interdependence and continuity. Thus, Peter G. scores precisely by seeing a "Renaissance" emerging not more out of the godhead of Bacon, Locke and Newton, but further back, from Pico and Machiavelli, Erasmus and Montaigne, themselves mediators of the classical tradition.

Furthermore, scholarship on the scientific revolution has been polarized in the same direction. In it the last type of ideas, the work of Rosalind Wiseman, Frances Yates and C. I. Schmitt and many others have greatly increased our understand-

ing of the Renaissance roots of modern science, in Neo-Platonism, Hermeticism, cabalistic magic, and other dimensions of what Dr Leventhal calls the "occult". Hence to imply that the scientific revolution was the agent destined to destroy Renaissance "occultism" for the Enlightenment is at best a partial truth.

This is doubly so, because recent research on eighteenth-century science has been demonstrating that the metaphysics of the traditional world-picture continued to inform the minds even of natural philosophers who have traditionally been considered "enlightened". To classify eighteenth-century scientific cosmologies using the leading terms "enlightened" and "pre-enlightened" and "anti-Enlightenment"—as Dr Leventhal does—is not to explain them, and may even hinder explanation. To take one of Dr Leventhal's chief examples: Hutchinsonianism. He classes it as anti-Enlightenment movement. And with much good reason. For the English Hutchinsonians did see themselves as crusading against modern decadence—though Samuel Johnson categorized by Henry May as part of his "Moderate Enlightenment". Yet the Hutchinsonians claimed that theirs was the true mechanical philosophy (unlike Newtonianism, with its obscure and magical idea of action at a distance). Theirs was also truly materialistic, for they insisted on a plenum. Can mechanism and materialism be entirely foreign to the Enlightenment?

Furthermore, Hutchinsonian materialism, with its obscure and magical idea of action at a distance, was actually achieved importance and popularity from the 1750s in the sciences of heat and electricity. Arnold Thackray has seen roots of Dalton's elements in Hutchinsonian chemistry. In order to categorize a natural philosophy as "enlightened" or its opposite does not in itself tell one much about its fruitfulness or applicability. Dr Leventhal does briefly discuss the "rationalization" of traditional beliefs in the eighteenth century—which he terms "recher fébrile"—but in general he is left trapped inside the irrelevance of his self-imposed categories of the backward and forward-looking.

It is a pleasure to turn to Professor May's book, a work, even more substantial than its 400 pages might suggest. For it is the distillation of over a decade's work, sparsely set down in a tightly organized framework in simple, spry, and richly telling prose. Tom Paine's ideas were "easy to answer but hard to forget". The *Enlightenment* in America possesses the same sympathy and "rock-like dignity" (Professor May's own phrase) to describe the essence of John Witherspoon's success as his earlier works on religious and rural life in more modern America. Direct and homespun phrases repeatedly take us to the heart of the matter, slipping over only occasionally into a folksy moralizing. Economical pen-portraits of William Smith, Benjamin Rush, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson brilliantly evoke how the American Enlightenment was created by men, frequently sui generis. It was a style, as well as a set of ideas, which gave form to the entirety of human lives.

Professor May jumps with ease over two of the hurdles which Dr Leventhal has not surmounted. He knows that ideas do not have their own autonomous history, but embody the needs and interests of their owners. Sometimes the relation is direct and crystal clear. A Whiggish faith in freedom, economic advance and cultural progress positively caught the aspirations of pillars of the New England community. Sometimes it is more oblique. Many Southern planters held unorthodox religious views—a Deism bordering on agnosticism—and adopted a wry, detached Stoicism. Such scepticism captured the semi-conscious motivations of a class, intellectually emancipated, privileged group living off a slave-system.

Second, Professor May recognizes that the Enlightenment is not homogeneous in nature, origins, or chronology. "It seems to me to obscure the history of the Enlightenment means the same things as democracy, modernity, or secularism." As it touches America, it is British, but also French. Above all, the Enlightenment's moonshine has its phases. First it comes the "Moderate Enlightenment". Mainly British in origins, this championed faith in political liberty under the law, as safe-

guarded by the complex checks and balances of constitutionalism. It asserted the rationality of Christian ethics, of ethics and of social order, and perhaps above all demanded from men in their social dealings, sobriety, restraint, dignity, and civilized polish. Secondly, the "Sleeping Enlightenment" flourished on the mid-century world of Purity, but including Hume, Gibbon and in the colonies to some degree Franklin, this mode of the Enlightenment was complex, disruptive and paradoxical. With its weapon, but it was a weapon pointed everywhere and nowhere at the same time.

Thirdly, the "Revolutionary Enlightenment": the heady philosophy which gained ground in America from the 1780s in the wake of the Declaration of Independence, cracking by the first decade of the nineteenth century, and the scare-mongering of the High Federalist anti-Jacobins and with the wildfire success of the Second Great Awakening. Indebted in part to Rousseau, Priestley, Voltaire and above all to the actual expectations of realizing the Rights of Man, the "Revolutionary Enlightenment" took root in the Republican Party, in the Democratic Clubs, and within some sections of American gilded student youth.

Lastly, Professor May sketches the "Didactic Enlightenment", Modelled on Thomas Reid and Dugald Stewart's Scottish Common Sense philosophy (with a dash of Tom Paine's *Common Sense* as well), it was first popularized in America at Princeton by the Scot John Witherspoon. This body of unassailable, workaday moral platitudes provided an undemanding pedagogy for American colleges and offered a "classical" practical set of injunctions which combined

individualism with restraint, reason with certainty. Professor May has set out the basic lines of this categorization lucidly. Here he triumphantly demonstrates its heuristic value. It illuminates which areas of the European Enlightenment were most—or least—congenial to American minds and needs. The "Sleeping Enlightenment" was the child of a super-civilized, decadent culture, whose radical intelligentsia faced a political blank wall. For very few Americans—"bucolic, optimistic but insecure"—did this fit their life-experience. Similarly, the "Revolutionary Enlightenment" had chiefly vicarious relevance in an America with few ancient régime Bastilles to storm. The movement rose and fell alongside millennial faith in the French Revolution, and in the long run succeeded only in exacerbating America's paradoxical attitudes towards the French. Few Americans indeed were themselves willing to extend the "Revolutionary Enlightenment" to the abolition of slavery, which destroyed it: the "peculiar institution" of slavery.

At the same time, Professor May shows the continued vitality of the "Moderate Enlightenment" for the more entrenched sections of the community through into the nineteenth century. To put this in a nutshell, the Enlightenment was a genuine movement, on the model of Burke, Barruel and de Maistre, were as alien to American soil as were Robespierre's virtue, Paine's popular deity, or Priestley's Christian materialism.

Above all, building on, but subtly modifying, the foundations laid in particular by Perry Miller, Professor May traces in masterly fashion the delicate dialectic between Enlightenment and Protestantism. As in Britain so in America, Enlighten-

ment was the junior partner, grafted on to Protestantism. In some cases, as with the Old Standing Order clergy of New England, the hybrid flourished. In some cases—witness the *Great Awakening*—it was a virgin continent which so pre-occupied Enlightenment Americans.

And, for all his balanced subtleties, Professor May has similar problems to Dr Leventhal in his conception of the Enlightenment. Professor May's strength lies in appreciating how the Enlightenment could be conservative, cautious, hierarchical and religious. Yet, surprisingly, he scarcely investigates how the pre-eighteenth-century ideas which bolstered such outlooks—precisely those which Dr Leventhal discusses at great length—became woven into the mental fabric of the colonies. We look almost in vain, for example, for those strands of classical and Renaissance political theory—such as Florentine virtù—which Bernard Bailyn and J. G. A. Pocock have educated us to see. Professor May's book starts squarely at the beginning of the Enlightenment, with Locke, Newton and natural science. He gives us the thrust and parry between the different Enlightenmentisms, and between those and Protestantism. But no more than Dr Leventhal does he show the actual conquering march of the Enlightenment across eighteenth-century America, fighting old Calvinism among New England congregations, or civilizing the frontier.

The drift of Dr Leventhal's book is that up to 1776 America still lay in the shadow of the Enlightenment. Professor May, on the other hand, tends to see American culture as independent, casting off its Enlightenment colonial past, and seeking new values and culture elsewhere. Both are right in their way. But precisely these differences show how much force remains in the old thrust: or the Constitution. It was surely

a mistake to omit Enlightenment attitudes towards wealth, property, and acquisition. There is disappointingly little on this environmental science of mind piled against a virgin continent which so pre-occupied Enlightenment Americans. And, for all his balanced subtleties, Professor May has similar problems to Dr Leventhal in his conception of the Enlightenment. Professor May's strength lies in appreciating how the Enlightenment could be conservative, cautious, hierarchical and religious. Yet, surprisingly, he scarcely investigates how the pre-eighteenth-century ideas which bolstered such outlooks—precisely those which Dr Leventhal discusses at great length—became woven into the mental fabric of the colonies. We look almost in vain, for example, for those strands of classical and Renaissance political theory—such as Florentine virtù—which Bernard Bailyn and J. G. A. Pocock have educated us to see. Professor May's book starts squarely at the beginning of the Enlightenment, with Locke, Newton and natural science. He gives us the thrust and parry between the different Enlightenmentisms, and between those and Protestantism. But no more than Dr Leventhal does he show the actual conquering march of the Enlightenment across eighteenth-century America, fighting old Calvinism among New England congregations, or civilizing the frontier.

It is that up to 1776 America still lay in the shadow of the Enlightenment. Professor May, on the other hand, tends to see American culture as independent, casting off its Enlightenment colonial past, and seeking new values and culture elsewhere. Both are right in their way. But precisely these differences show how much force remains in the old thrust: or the Constitution. It was surely

puerile, defective, and, what is more, embarrassing to the European reputation of American science. The voluntary associations had to be snatched away from the control of the state, and made over into vehicles for the display of standards of quality, the provision of scientific communication and collective criticism. The selection of members into the scientific community. A process of social exclusion, in other words, had to be implemented, and, ideally, publicly rationalized with the patriotic rhetoric which continued to justify the cultural values of the enterprise. In the AAAS it was the secretive elite scientific group of the Lazzaroni, led by Bache himself, which attempted to superintend this process and which soon found the widespread and government-sponsored National Academy of Sciences a far more suitable environment than the "Amazing Asses Adverse to Science". Thus, we have a set of structures (the autonomous scientific societies) a process (professionalization), and a variety of interests which the structures served or could be made, with work, to serve. Our authors must, in a number of ways, implicitly, solutions to relating these factors.

Professor Kohstedt, for all the undoubted value of his study, has apparently been bitten by a pandemic professional interest, most troubling methodological uncertainties. The study of scientific societies at this period makes it clear that the cultural and social position of science in a society with democratic values is highly problematic.

In its individualist and empiricist formulations, the cultivation of science, and especially of those branches based upon observation, invited broad public participation, assured participants that they were capable of making valuable contributions and in turn accorded participants the social cachet of membership in the enterprise of rational culture. The institution of many early scientific societies, including the AAAS, is an indicator of this cultural inclusiveness. With the AAAS, the antebellum societies provided central roles for the amateur and (as Nathan Reingold's speculative essay points out) reflected his conditions of cultural participation.

The advancement of science, rather than its self-cultivation, was the primary concern of these societies' membership. Ultimately, the leaders of professional science found the activities of the amateurs

The pioneer days of progress

By Steven Shapin

SALLY GREGORY KOHSTEDT:
The Foundation of the American Scientific Community
264pp. University of Illinois Press.
£7.70.

ALEXANDRA OLESON and SANBORN C. BROWN (Editors):
The Pursuit of Knowledge in the Early American Republic
American Scientific and Learned Societies from Colonial Times to the Civil War
372pp. Johns Hopkins University Press.
£11.50.

Historians of American science may count themselves fortunate not to have a Newton to contend with. The American Franklin had an altogether more human genius, and was more intimately part of lay society—his face was rarely silent and his spectacles less forbidding. His scientific and literary achievements, his magiographic tradition has been difficult to sustain in the study of American science. No Olympians, no Olympian myths. But other modes of addressing the history of science and technology with a vigour unknown elsewhere. In particular, the history of scientific institutions, of the diffusion of scientific knowledge, of practical scientific and technical activity have been advanced in recent years at a satisfying rate—certainly in comparison with the state of the history of British science.

Sally Gregory Kohstedt presents us with a detailed account of the first thirteen years of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, while we still lack any modern, book-length study of the British Association, upon which it was modelled. The book is a study of more than a dozen antebellum American scientific and learned societies. *The Pursuit of Knowledge in the Early American Republic*, edited by Alexandra Oleson and Sanborn C. Brown, constitutes a sustained and coherent attempt to document the variety of scientific organizations than anything one can point to in Britain. In addition, historians of American science have addressed themselves to the apparently little interest to most of their British colleagues: the social history of the nineteenth-century medical profession, the reception of agricultural chemistry, the history of individual mechanics in

the popular social use of hereditary biological and medical ideas. These have done so, for the most part, with self-confidence and seriousness of purpose, with little hint of defensiveness towards those who study scientific ideas "proper".

Professor Kohstedt's study of the early AAAS is a monument of archival energy. A few manuscript sources have been collected in AAAS central offices, she has searched out eighty-two separate collections of leading members' papers and correspondence, though out the United States and Britain in order to piece together her account. On a smaller canvas, the studies in *The Pursuit of Knowledge in the Early American Republic* of the Western Academy of Sciences found the widespread and government-sponsored National Academy of Sciences a far more suitable environment than the "Amazing Asses Adverse to Science". Thus, we have a set of structures (the autonomous scientific societies) a process (professionalization), and a variety of interests which the structures served or could be made, with work, to serve. Our authors must, in a number of ways, implicitly, solutions to relating these factors.

Professor Kohstedt, for all the undoubted value of his study, has apparently been bitten by a pandemic professional interest, most troubling methodological uncertainties. The study of scientific societies at this period makes it clear that the cultural and social position of science in a society with democratic values is highly problematic.

In its individualist and empiricist formulations, the cultivation of science, and especially of those branches based upon observation, invited broad public participation, assured participants that they were capable of making valuable contributions and in turn accorded participants the social cachet of membership in the enterprise of rational culture. The institution of many early scientific societies, including the AAAS, is an indicator of this cultural inclusiveness. With the AAAS, the antebellum societies provided central roles for the amateur and (as Nathan Reingold's speculative essay points out) reflected his conditions of cultural participation.

The advancement of science, rather than its self-cultivation, was the primary concern of these societies' membership. Ultimately, the leaders of professional science found the activities of the amateurs

sionals eventually "won", but the assumption of the immanence of their interests does not encourage the historicizing of science. Nor does it encourage due attention to the point of view of those who had different cultural interests, in this case, those devoted to "self-culture".

In addition, the assumption of immanence makes sense of a disprofessional "standards" less valuable than it otherwise might have been. The AAAS existed to enforce "standards" of quality in the advancement of science. Yet Professor Kohstedt misses nearly every opportunity to tell us what those standards consisted of and why certain groups felt assured in attempting to enforce them. Indeed, there is precious little here about scientific ideas and very little of the diligent prosopographical display is dedicated to uncovering links between social or institutional structure and scientific ideas, even in the more anecdotal moments. The institutional history is here simply too confident and too self-contained; would that Newton had been a member of the AAAS!

The smaller studies of *The Pursuit of Knowledge in the Early American Republic* are necessarily lesser documentary contributions, yet several of them manifest far more serious attempts to study structure against the professionalizing process, and to integrate institutional with intellectual history. Henry Shapin pleads for a non-functionalist interpretation of the Western Academy of Sciences and delivers an excellent contextual study of the relationship between classification in natural history and the interests of participants.

In the same way, Patsy Gerstner and Bruce Sinclair take as their task the connecting of intellectual styles to institutional constraints, the one in the case of natural history in the Academy of Natural Sciences, the other examining technological studies in the Franklin Institute. The documentary value of almost all the other contributions is uniformly high, and the interpretive schemes offered by John Greene, A. J. Rouse Dupree and Nathan Reingold are all worthwhile, if a little given to conflating taxonomic "box-filling" and explanation. The history of American science is very much in the debt of Kohstedt and company. They have raised more questions about the role of scientific societies and about the conception of institutional form than they have provided answers. At this stage that is no mean accomplishment.

MYCENAEAN GREECE

J. T. HOOKER

James Hooker discusses from an historical point of view some of the crucial periods in the development of the Aegean lands during the Greek Bronze Age. His principal subject is the so-called "Mycenaean" culture, which arose in Greece during the sixteenth century BC, expanded in the next few generations, spread over the Aegean and parts of the eastern Mediterranean during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries and declined in the twelfth century—a decline which was accompanied by widespread devastation.

States and Cities of Ancient Greece £6.50

The 'Disciplina Clericalis' of Petrus Alfonsi

Translated and Edited by Eberhard Hermes
Translated into English by P. D. Quarles

The *Disciplina*, one of the most important collections of tales from the Middle Ages, was widely known throughout Europe, translated into many languages and used as a source by many writers including Chaucer and Boccaccio. The extensive introduction to this edition directs the reader's attention to the position of Jews in medieval Spanish society, on the medieval attitudes to scientific investigation, and on the literary pedigree of the stories.

The Islamic World £5.95

The Qur'an and its Exegesis

Selected Texts with Classical and Modern Interpretations
HELMUT GATJE
Translated and edited by Alfred T. Welch
This book is a translation of key passages of the Qur'an (Koran) (following Arberry's translation), and its classical and modern commentaries. It shows the teachings of commentators on such topics as revelation, Allah, Muhammad, Muslim beliefs and duties, and also shows the Qur'anic view of other religious communities.

The Islamic World £8.50

People of the Mediterranean

An Essay in Comparative Social Anthropology
J. DAVIS
More than any other area of the world, the Mediterranean is a source of historical data, and it provides social anthropologists with distinctive opportunities to compare similar kinds of institutions and processes in a variety of contexts. Dr Davis examines how they have responded to these opportunities by surveying the vast quantity of material collected and published by people who have worked in the area.

Library of Man £5.50

The Year Book of Social Policy in Britain 1975

EDITED BY KATHLEEN JONES
Since 1971 when the series was inaugurated, the Year Book has become a standard work on the year's events in social policy. The topics covered in this edition range from the management of health services, through allowances and supplementary benefits, to the Royal Commission on Income and Wealth. £9.50

Origin and Significance of the Frankfurt School

A Marxist Perspective
PHIL SLATER

Phil Slater examines the formative and most radical years of the Frankfurt School during the 1930s. He traces the extent and ultimate limits of the School's professed relation to the Marxist critique and gives it due credit for its role in the emergence of the student and authoritarian movement of the 1960s.

International Library of Sociology £5.95

The Dual Vision

Alfred Shutz and the myth of Phenomenological social science
ROBERT A. GORMAN

Robert Gorman argues that Shutz and his followers fail in their attempts to "humanize" empirical social science due to their desire to achieve an artificial unity of subjectivity and objectivity—their "dual vision"—and he re-defines the methodological implications of phenomenology with the aid of existential and Marxist categories.

International Library of Sociology £4.95

Routledge & Kegan Paul

39 Store Street, London WC1

The relief-work of sex

By Wendy O'Flaherty

DEVANGANA DESAI:
Erotic Sculpture of India
269pp and 155 plates. New Delhi:
Tata McGraw-Hill. Rs165.

Few subjects have inspired so many had books, and so few good books, as the erotic sculpture of India. The early European students of Indian art tended to blush and look aside, or to gloat over the filth of this pagan display, or to bury the subject in a miasma of art-historical jargon. The Indians themselves, in covered reaction to these attitudes of their Victorian rulers, were deeply embarrassed, and insisted—when they dared to mention the subject at all—that it was all a metaphor for some aspect of the lofty spiritualism for which they professed to be noted. Lurid picture books of Indian temples would find their way to Paris and appear, grossly over-priced, shelved next to Fanny Hill, Rameau's Master, and the other Olympians of that era.

Now, in the age of permissiveness, these books are still over-priced, but lavishly illustrated coffee-table editions. Many of these latter contain fine reproductions of the now-famous images, though usually clothed in the sanctified of text; here one might list Ajit Mookerjee's *Asana*, Mulk Raj Anand's *Kama Kalpa*, Alan Daniell's *L'Érotisme indien*, Philip Rawson's various books on Hinduism and erotic art (here the text is usually quite informative), Alan Watts's book on *Erotic Spirituality* (with Elton Eliason's pictures) and Jeanine Aubrey's book on *Khajuraho* (with Elly Zane's photographs), also a detailed and lively text but with no adequate discussion of the problem of the eroticism of the sculptures.

Now at last there is a good book on Indian erotic sculpture. *Erotic Sculpture of India* does true justice to the subject, and is written by an Indian woman, Devangana Desai. The 155 black and white plates and twenty-six line drawings are very well reproduced; more important, they represent a fascinating range of images, many of them never published before and others never cited in this context. The ubiquitous *maithuna* figures (coupling in intercourse) of the coffee-table books, always from Khajuraho, Konarak or Orissa, here quickly give way to scenes of bestiality, child-birth, and hair-cutting, sexual intercourse from Mother's terracotta orlagic groups from Chandrakupur; friezes from Bihar and Benigne, Vijaynagar and Nanjangud, Halebid and Pattadakal.

But the plates alone are not what set this book apart from all others on the subject. The text is at once sensible and scholarly, accurate and imaginative, detailed and speculative. The author begins with a rather simple survey of the prevalence of sex in religious art in India and then provides an informative and interesting survey of the development of erotic sculpture in India. Drawing upon her own on-the-spot studies of these temples, she uses texts and epigraphs to demonstrate the religious affiliation of temples all over India. A sound understanding of socio-economic history enhances the discussion of the abrupt upsurge in this field of art between AD 900 and 1400. Each site is presented in its historical context, and regional variations are noted; they are then linked in a geographical and historical matrix that is both convincing and useful.

The early art produced only general images of fertility, and are well known from other cultures of that period. Then, in the second century AD at Chandrakupur, one finds terracotta images of *maithuna* as well as a type found in later Hindu temples with poses corresponding to the descriptions in the *Kamasutra* and other erotic treatises. This is the period in which sexuality is regarded as an essential force, and therefore included in many forms of religious expression. Obscene displays were believed to ward off evil spirits, and couples in intercourse were depicted as a surrogate for the fast-declining institution of actual ritual intercourse (even symbolic sacrifice began to replace

actual ritual slaughter). Ritual copulation with animals may also be subsumed in this category, as the Vedic horse-sacrifice and related ceremonies included such acts.

During the second period (AD 500-900), with the development of trade and urban luxury, the fertile *maithuna* of the previous period gave way to sensuous *maithuna*, a worldly rather than magic appreciation of sex, for at this time the temples flourished as social and worldly institutions, with a sophisticated attitude to both sex and religion. The erotic figures of this period were conventionalized, small, and usually placed in corners. The numerous scenes which include klags in various postures of erotic dalliance were probably developed at this stage, striking a balance between the serious, ritual fertility aspect of *maithuna* and the lusty and humorous courtly appreciation of good erotic fun. During the period of florescence (AD 900-1400), the element of magic becomes prominent once more, though now elaborated by the decorative skills developed during the previous age, and the figures are large, central, and extremely varied in their activities.

Why? In answering this question, Dr Desai debunks once and for all a number of traditional sops to Indian prudery and European prurience. To the suggestion that the cupulating figures represented "non-dual bliss" or union with the Godhead, or that they represented the desire that one must put aside when entering the temple, she points out that the temple represented "behavioural" rather than philosophical Hinduism (which strove towards worldly and fleshly goals rather than the abstractions of the Vedantins), and that the erotic scenes appear inside, in the *garbhagriha*, or inner sanctum, as well as on the outer walls. Nor do these scenes depict the "four human goals" (lust, social justice, wealth, and release); for the final three are not depicted. In answer to the suggestion that they represent *sex-yogic* poses, Dr Desai grants that ascetics are indeed depicted with women (though rarely

before AD 900, and then usually in non-coital attitudes), and that they appear in various scenes—battered by horses, committing fellatio, and so forth. In Rajasthan, ascetics even came to replace the *gauris* (phallic dragons) that appear elsewhere as temple guardians; there are also many scenes in which ascetics are engaged in sexual activity while undergoing ceremonial hair-cutting. There is indeed a connection between sex and yoga, as has been pointed out on many occasions. The actual scenes of intercourse in so-called *yogic* postures, however, owe more to gymnastics and the *Kamasutra* than to any precise *yogic asanas*, and ascetics are seldom depicted in these poses.

The relationship with Tantrism, often cited in this context, is more complex, and Dr Desai deserves much credit for exploring in useful detail the origin and spread of such medieval sects as the Pashupatas. Her conclusion is that the temple sculpture itself could hardly be the work of actual members of Tantric sects, since these were by nature secret and would hardly advertise on temples; and that the art of the Tantrics took the form of *yantras* and *mandalas*, abstract sacred diagrams, and not of anthropomorphic representations of divinity, let alone depictions of the notorious Tantric rites of intercourse. However, it is most likely that the temple sculptures reflect Tantric influence, perhaps merging with the already present theme of the *maithuna* to produce fertility and the old motif of the ascetic and the woman, or that they may be caricatures of Tantrics by non-Tantrics, for these scenes are often touched with satire and humour. This latter may explain the scenes of bestiality, fellatio, and cunnilingus, which are scorned by the *Kamasutra*. Thus the cupulating figures which were at first an auspicious symbol and then a decorative motif developed under Tantric influence into the more prominent and elaborate depiction of orgies.

Serious students of Indian sculpture and erotica will find this book essential, and the non-serious will find it highly enjoyable.

Aphrodite's man

By Oliver Taplin

GEOFFREY GRIGSON:
The Goddess of Love
256pp. Constable. £6.50.

The aged Sophocles, we hear at the beginning of Plato's *Republic*, was asked about sex (it is *aphrodisia*) and whether he was still able to enjoy a woman. "Hush!" he replied, "I am delighted to have left that behind me; it is as if I had escaped from some cruel and crazy taskmaster." Geoffrey Grigson in his evergreen *The Goddess of Love* is a willing bondsman. The *Goddess of Love* is, in effect, a rapturous celebration of the female body, of the desire for union with it, and the ineffable delight of consummation (like Mr Grigson I long for a more sublime English word than "orgasm"—the Greeks did not have a word for it either). His goddess is Aphrodite (rather than Venus); her opponent demons are the prudish and killjoys, churchmen and classical scholars, who have tried—in vain of course—to put a padlock on her girdle.

The Goddess of Love? On the whole it is surprising to teach a Greek god to one particular function or symbol, but in this case Mr Grigson is justified. Aphrodite hardly ever strays outside the realm of the erotic, of desire, whether satisfied or frustrated, or either sex for either sex, desire, which is the pursuit of its goal. When Archilochus in the startling new fragment (translated by Peter Green in *TLS* for March 14, 1975) seduces his nymphette, he assures her "the goddess has many delights for young men, besides the divine thing". The goddess is Aphrodite, the divine thing is full intercourse, the other delights all the other ways of achieving that nameless experience. But the Goddess of Love? Well, only in this limited sense, not fondness or philanthropy or respect, but the love which urges the genitals.

"Sleeping Girl" in bronze resin by Karin Jonzon who, Carol Wright has written, is "one of the small band of important sculptors left in this country who derive their inspiration from the human figure and are strong enough to resist the trend of fashionable art". From Karin Jonzon (80pp. Bachman and Turner. £4.50), a collection of eight-five monochrome photographs of her work with an autobiographical essay by the artist and a foreword by Norman St John-Stevens.

Yet, like most hagiography, Mr Grigson's testament does not give the whole picture. His unadmitted delight in all the works of a Cyprian conjures up a rose-tinted vision (though rose is admittedly an appropriate filter). The ancient Greeks were more realistic. For a goddess whose name was *aphros* (not seen as *aphros* but as *aphros*, blinding, degrading), the scenes in the martial *Iliad* are crueler than that in Book III when Aphrodite brow-beats Helen into bed with Paris. In Euripides's *Trone Hecuba* tells her that her alleged goddess was a figure of her own lust, her mindless urge (*aphrosyne*).

The pain, the madness, the lechery which Aphrodite inflicts are not the propaganda of pedants, they are a plangent refrain of Greek literature. That may be why in at least one play she is presented as some eternal "playmate" smiling last viciously, thighs open to the fantasy of the viewer. She reserves a distance from mortals, whose uncloyed delight is only a fleeting sensation. The same intangible remoteness also characterizes Botticelli's *Venus* whose pervasive book does not strike me (or my friends), as it does Mr Grigson, as "the peculiar expression which comes on the face of women in that climax of making love".

There is a rose tint also to the way Mr Grigson associates Aphrodite with marriage and fecundity. Though her analogues in the New East, Rome (Venus *generata*) and elsewhere are often fertility goddesses, Aphrodite herself is seldom associated with childbirth, or with sex, or crops. Her time is in the area of desire, not of the harvest, the frustration, jealousy, remorse, the garden choked with the weeds of the litter of a wanted children. Love now, a later, Mr Grigson is fortunate indeed to have exceeded three seasons and ten and still to add this duplicitous goddess so simply and mindfully.

Aphrodite has associations which trickles pervasively down through European art and literature, and Grigson enumerates these lucidly and evocatively. Of gods, justice, love and the Graces, people Adonis and Aeneas, elements the sea, the evening star, attributes doves, quinces, myrtle and, to use another more horrible location, the ex-gangue zones. Though the book engages the fancy—"it would be pleasant to think..."—it is not a web of esoteric speculation, like *The Wk Goddess*; it is clear and sensible, at the same time imaginative and individual.

The *Goddess of Love* does not pretend to be for scholars. It might find double fault with its assertion that Homer wrote before Hesiod or the implication that he was not multiplied into the naive forerunners of the *putti* before a Hellenistic age. But to go on to this would be to miss the point of the book, which is a lot of informed and good sense, and that it does much more than that. Mr Grigson's appealing hobby-horses (the *putti* around Aphrodite like so many *putti* in Cyprus, island of sex, and the contrast between East and West have cohabited conflict for three millennia, a breeding of roses, the migration, the Lesbian flames of Sappho, the twisted ecstasies of Svinburn, the efforts of many authors, the simple bottoms and small breasts modelled the celebrated *putti* "Venus" of Hellenistic sculpture and Renaissance painting, and, summing all, the lovely act itself.

Mr Grigson's beautiful English style weaves these and a dozen other favourite themes into a delightful text, suitably adorned with fine black-and-white plates. It is so black-and-white that it is occasionally annoying that he refers to works of art that he does not reproduce, and rather a pity that, with sculpture is more than amply represented, some other art forms, like vase painting, are relatively neglected. I miss, for instance, the exquisite inlaid bronze mirror as in the Louvre; still, in recompense Mr Grigson has brought to light from Boston a little-known potter Aphrodite not yet completely mentioned in his book. It is a lovely little whole the book holds its subject and will grace any coffee-table which puts quality above extravagance as any literary shelf which values the Classical tradition in European culture.

Yet, like most hagiography, Mr Grigson's testament does not give the whole picture. His unadmitted delight in all the works of a Cyprian conjures up a rose-tinted vision (though rose is admittedly an appropriate filter). The ancient Greeks were more realistic. For a goddess whose name was *aphros* (not seen as *aphros* but as *aphros*, blinding, degrading), the scenes in the martial *Iliad* are crueler than that in Book III when Aphrodite brow-beats Helen into bed with Paris. In Euripides's *Trone Hecuba* tells her that her alleged goddess was a figure of her own lust, her mindless urge (*aphrosyne*).

The pain, the madness, the lechery which Aphrodite inflicts are not the propaganda of pedants, they are a plangent refrain of Greek literature. That may be why in at least one play she is presented as some eternal "playmate" smiling last viciously, thighs open to the fantasy of the viewer. She reserves a distance from mortals, whose uncloyed delight is only a fleeting sensation. The same intangible remoteness also characterizes Botticelli's *Venus* whose pervasive book does not strike me (or my friends), as it does Mr Grigson, as "the peculiar expression which comes on the face of women in that climax of making love".

There is a rose tint also to the way Mr Grigson associates Aphrodite with marriage and fecundity. Though her analogues in the New East, Rome (Venus *generata*) and elsewhere are often fertility goddesses, Aphrodite herself is seldom associated with childbirth, or with sex, or crops. Her time is in the area of desire, not of the harvest, the frustration, jealousy, remorse, the garden choked with the weeds of the litter of a wanted children. Love now, a later, Mr Grigson is fortunate indeed to have exceeded three seasons and ten and still to add this duplicitous goddess so simply and mindfully.

DORE ASHTON:

Yes, but...
A critical study of Philip Guston
206pp, with 93 illustrations. Secker
and Warburg. £8.75.

A recent article by a respected American critic on a famous American painter opened with this assertion:

Until now and despite its extensive use during the past fifteen years, the shaped canvas has remained a very limited, even failed, idiom; in two new works the painter had managed to make the shaped canvas yield a major quality for the first time... It was the first time that one sensed the shaped canvas as something really relevant and necessary.

The writer was Kenneth Moffet, the painter Kenneth Noland, the critic on this occasion, *Art International*. "Shaped canvas" is shorthand for the non-rectangular picture. The context for Mr Moffet's application of what has become a familiar formula in professional art writing is not merely the recent prominence of the shaped canvas but also a flood of art-critical prose in support of this or that instance of it—Frank Stella's own efforts and many another's. Again and again we were told that the ultimate had been achieved. Now it appears that previous satisfaction was misplaced. All was unnecessary and not really relevant.

The formula is simple enough. The writer seizes on an artist's newest work as the only full, the only permissible demonstration of the artist's talent, and then, by pathos of reticence, painters or, the critic knows, the painter acts, then awakes the seal of approval. His task is to solve the problem latent in the situation of art. When he has solved it, the critic will tell him what it was.

Dore Ashton's writing is not like that. Neither does Philip Guston's work lend itself to this "now at last you've got it right" treatment. His career has not been orderly. The retrospective exhibition that came from New York to the White Chapel Art Gallery in 1963, and went on to Brussels and Amsterdam, was taken to show a sensible development from Renaissance-based narrative and allegory to a post-form of Abstract Expressionism that was distinctive enough to accord Guston full membership of the New American Painting. He had known Jackson Pollock from boyhood; not to have "gone abstract" would have looked perverse, for he had looked at Pollock's work and seen, as not seen before, the hidden, menacing, blinding, degrading. For scenes in the martial *Iliad* are crueler than that in Book III when Aphrodite brow-beats Helen into bed with Paris. In Euripides's *Trone Hecuba* tells her that her alleged goddess was a figure of her own lust, her mindless urge (*aphrosyne*).

The pain, the madness, the lechery which Aphrodite inflicts are not the propaganda of pedants, they are a plangent refrain of Greek literature. That may be why in at least one play she is presented as some eternal "playmate" smiling last viciously, thighs open to the fantasy of the viewer. She reserves a distance from mortals, whose uncloyed delight is only a fleeting sensation. The same intangible remoteness also characterizes Botticelli's *Venus* whose pervasive book does not strike me (or my friends), as it does Mr Grigson, as "the peculiar expression which comes on the face of women in that climax of making love".

From mandarin to stumblebum

By Norbert Lynton



Caricatures by Philip Guston from the book under review. Above, Stanley Kunitz, 1955.

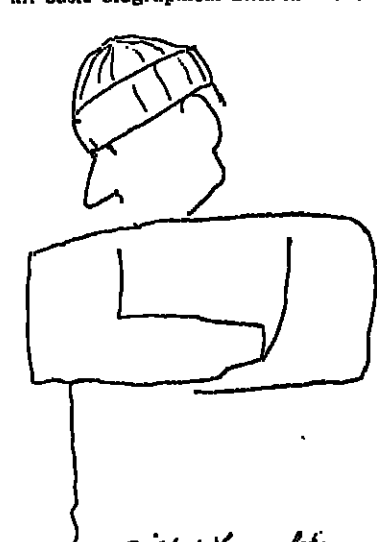
seemed about to resurface. In fact there followed a transitional period, perhaps a crisis.

For some years Guston was unable to bring any painting to completion. He drew ceaselessly, then did some very small paintings. Then, in 1970, he came before the public again with an exhibition of new paintings—stable, tough, rough, inelegant, cartoonishly sarcastic, graphic rather than painterly, very truculent in expression. General consternation. Pollock was dead; Rothko had recently committed suicide. How dare Guston, aged fifty-seven, abandon the true (if by now also very broad) path? Hilton Kramer of the *New York Times* likened Guston's new stance to that of "a mandarin masquerading as a stumblebum".

But single-mindedness was never part of Guston's make-up, nor is he one of those who adopt an appear-

ance of it for professional convenience. Guston the painter aspires to the highest of high art; Guston the man has lived, from immigrant childhood onwards, within the American and global worlds. If the "Yes" of the book's title represents his enduring passion for the tacit eloquence of Piero della Francesca, the "but" stands for his need to have his more explicit say. Seen against the background of Guston's interests and activities—his study of Mexican muralists and his own public paintings, his awareness of oppression from Ku Klux Klan to Vietnam and Nixon—his Abstract Expressionist paintings, beautiful as they are, begin to look like an intermezzo.

By the simple device of coralling all basic biographical data in a sum-



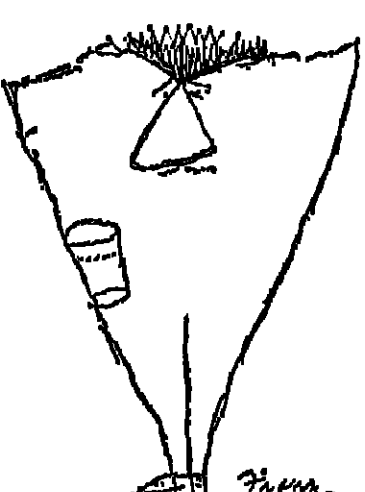
Willem de Kooning, 1955.

mary that precedes her text, Professor Ashton has left herself free to pursue Guston's paintings and thought at a pace set by them and not by the scale of time. The book, in consequence, is exceptionally rich—in ideas, insights, and references that reflect both Guston's many-sidedness and the writer's deep cultural roots. Dore Ashton's books and articles have ranged from pre-Columbian to twentieth-century art. What characterizes her writing throughout is her acceptance of the precariousness of what looks like achievement. When she wrote a brief study of Guston's work, in 1960, she stressed his essential mobility even though at that time it must have looked as though he would always remain an Abstract Expressionist. She said then that the synthesis he had reached was temporary, and she quoted Rilke (a writer Guston especially admires), on the artist as a solitary beset by his neighbors, with an aptness that now strikes one as prophetic: "and when he refused to be worn out and got away they cried out upon that which emanated from him, and called it ugly and cast suspicion upon it." The best of the new book is her account of the inner and outer debates through which Guston has moved, and the pendulum is beginning to swing back, perhaps, to the structural refinements of what I take to be his first masterpiece, *The Tormentors*, painted in 1947-48 when he was on the way to speak from narrative to abstraction for the first time.

It is Dore Ashton's responsiveness, her willingness to be led in her thinking by the work she admires rather than by theoretical restrictions, that makes *Yes, but...* an unusually convincing account of a living artist. She has on other occasions written persuasively, beautifully even, about painters whose existence and art cannot be separated (as Noland's apparently) from Madison, Bonnard, Miro, Rodin, and others in *A Reading of Modern Art* (1969), and on Joseph Cornell in a more recent monograph, *The Unknown Shore* (1962) is a meditation on contemporary art in America and Europe; *The New York School* (1972) is an inside story. In the 1950s she wrote for the *New York Times*; in the 1960s she reported regularly from New York in the columns of *Studio International*. She is a thinking witness. She knows the complexity of what she is talking about.

Yes, but... is a very handsome book: good paper, almost facsimile typesetting, four good colour plates and a lot of black-and-white illustrations of a quality we don't usually manage over here. Several of the illustrations are from photographs taken by Denise Huro of Guston's studio and home. In their avoidance of gossip and idleness they complement the text perfectly. All that we can ask in addition is a chance to see the paintings and drawings themselves. Guston's work has not been shown in Britain since 1964.

This is undoubtedly not just a book for museum-goers to enjoy. For its own sake, but a valuable research tool compiled by two specialists with the ordinary reader in mind. The colour illustration is admirable, so it is disappointing that many of the black and white illustrations, particularly of wood examples, are rather poor. This may be partly due to the litho method of reproduction, perhaps in these days a necessary economic factor; ivory examples on the other hand have reproduced well.



Franz Kline, 1955.

In Rome, Signorelli's apocalyptic frescoes in Orvieto, a conscious returning home, *Rashomon*, Goya. He became, he said, a movie director. The new paintings are narratives, burlesques of a rather shocking sort after all that visual poetry, yet it is her account of the inner and outer debates through which Guston has moved, and the pendulum is beginning to swing back, perhaps, to the structural refinements of what I take to be his first masterpiece, *The Tormentors*, painted in 1947-48 when he was on the way to speak from narrative to abstraction for the first time.

It is Dore Ashton's responsiveness, her willingness to be led in her thinking by the work she admires rather than by theoretical restrictions, that makes *Yes, but...* an unusually convincing account of a living artist. She has on other occasions written persuasively, beautifully even, about painters whose existence and art cannot be separated (as Noland's apparently) from Madison, Bonnard, Miro, Rodin, and others in *A Reading of Modern Art* (1969), and on Joseph Cornell in a more recent monograph, *The Unknown Shore* (1962) is a meditation on contemporary art in America and Europe; *The New York School* (1972) is an inside story. In the 1950s she wrote for the *New York Times*; in the 1960s she reported regularly from New York in the columns of *Studio International*. She is a thinking witness. She knows the complexity of what she is talking about.

Yes, but... is a very handsome book: good paper, almost facsimile typesetting, four good colour plates and a lot of black-and-white illustrations of a quality we don't usually manage over here. Several of the illustrations are from photographs taken by Denise Huro of Guston's studio and home. In their avoidance of gossip and idleness they complement the text perfectly. All that we can ask in addition is a chance to see the paintings and drawings themselves. Guston's work has not been shown in Britain since 1964.

The Lord God of Spaxton

By J. I. M. Stewart

CHARLES MANDER:
The Reverend Prince and his Abode of Love
143pp. Wakefield: EP Publishing. £3.95.

Henry James, Prince (1811-1899) was one of those fortunate people who possess in an extraordinary degree the ability to dominate others with a kind of mesmeric power. He lived for periods of time, he could achieve it, even through the instrumentality of the written word. Thus the Reverend Samuel Sturges, the absentee, and the Unitarian rector of Charlbury, when supposing himself to be dead, died in the parish, although Sturges had been away for the fact. The dying man, read the sermon, jumped out of bed

and hastened back to his cure.

In no time he was believing that Prince enjoyed a very special relationship with the Holy Ghost, and quite soon he had joined the body of wholehearted believers who accepted Prince as being the Divinity manifested anew on earth. Prince himself, although he modestly chose to be addressed by the wealthy and occasionally cultivated disciples whom he gathered in his Agapemone simply as "Beloved", had himself no doubt about his standing. If you wanted to communicate with him, you addressed your letter to "The Lord God, Spaxton, Somerset". The post office delivered it.

In one sense the Agapemone, a spacious mansion built and maintained by the aims of the faithful, was an Abode of Love. Prince himself, since a strict celibacy was enjoined upon male and female disciples alike, even husbands and wives were permitted to continue their marriage only in a "spiritual" sense. But there were no other austere beliefs, and except the servants (believed and unpaid) ate and drank well.

The spacious "church", although full of ecclesiastical paraphernalia, was comfortably carpeted, handsomely furnished with settees and easy chairs, and contained a billiard-table with which it was scandalously averted that the resident Saints diverted themselves even on Sundays. Unfortunately there was no occasion of scandal then. It was eventually revealed to Prince that the salvation of the world depended upon his presence in his congregation. And this event appears actually to have taken place.

The perversion of Christian belief and conduct into bizarre and revolting persuasions is a topic deserving of serious inquiry, as is the role regularly played in such aberrations by messianic charlatans of Prince's sort. Charles Mander's *The Reverend Prince and his Abode of Love*, unfortunately, is no more than an uncritical *rechauffé* of the successful fact and legend. A wretched business appears quite funny, but at the expense of a determined game-act, that is displeasing in its total effect.

A publisher is a fool

(so the book trade believes) to waste money on large advertisements ahead of publication. However, *WHY POOR PEOPLE STAY POOR* is a work of such importance that it merits every possible attention. Although it will not be published for another fortnight we are proud to announce it now. Michael Lipton addresses himself to a simple but terrible question: how is it that, while many poor countries have greatly increased their wealth since 1948, the poorest people are no richer, and have often been thrust into yet deeper poverty? He finds the answer in the 'urban bias' which sucks resources of capital and skill out of the food-producing countryside and into the cities. Lip-service is paid to the need to develop agriculture but Professor Lipton shows how unbalanced and inequitable the reality still is. His argument is close and rigorous. It ranges widely over economic and social questions, and includes a brilliant analysis of the ways in which both Marxist and liberal ideologues have fostered this bias. On a vital subject, this is a truly seminal book.

WHY POOR PEOPLE STAY POOR by Michael Lipton 20 January, £9.50, maurice temple smith.

Confusion in the counties

By Kevin Sharpe

J. S. MORRILL:

The Revolt of the Provinces: Conservatives and Radicals in the English Civil War, 1630-1650. 234 pp. Allen and Unwin, £5.75.

With the recent proliferation of books on the English Civil War, students may be excused for passing over many. They cannot afford to neglect J. S. Morrill's *The Revolt of the Provinces*. Drawing on many county studies (including some very good theses) as well as his own research, Dr Morrill traces the first time the origins and course of the war in the localities.

In his first section, Dr Morrill reminds us that the unanimous opposition to the king in 1640—the reaction of the localities to the effect on them of unpopular policies imposed from the centre—cannot explain the war. After the legislation of 1641 had removed outstanding grievances, “it was widely imagined that Charles I would be forced to take leaders of the opposition into his government.”

When Charles abandoned conciliation (because, as Dr Morrill does not remind us, he, at least, saw the issue as fundamentally a division of Westminster produced a broad order in the provinces. When both king and Parliament proclaimed their loyalty to law and the constitution, the provinces failed to understand why no settlement was achieved.

When both proceeded to raise armies—Parliament by the county lieutenants, Charles by the revival of the old commission of array—the local gentry were in a dilemma. But not even the militia question divided the counties for war: some attempted to obey both; some local agents of king and Parliament operated to raise potentially rival forces; others refused both commissions. Amid the indecision and confusion, the extremists seized the initiative.

Thereafter, as Dr Morrill shows us clearly, the first time, the course of the war saw the development of administrative procedures and the creation of county committees and associations which increasingly ran roughshod over local customs and important local institutions such as grand juries. The king, possibly having learnt his lesson, attempted to pay more respect to local forms, but ironically

his more traditional methods meant his ultimate failure to pay his troops. Naseby was the victory not of a godly army, but of a ruthless parliamentary administration.

But the county gentry increasingly reacted against these encroachments. The “purest” expression of the prevailing county neutralism were the Cluhmen. In his brilliant pioneering portrait of this movement, Dr Morrill describes the armed bands which emerged in wartime counties, often in considerable number, to defend their lands and liberties from the various armies. They called for settlement and a return to the old forms in local government.

As the war continued, the county reactions mounted and Dr Morrill suggests that we should see the apparent royalist risings of 1648 as expressions of opposition to the effects of war (legitimized by an appeal to the other side)—as the traditional county reaction against interference and centralization.

One cannot exaggerate the importance of the perspective provided by this book. The introduction and the well-chosen documents show how central decisions were implemented, the extent to which they were obeyed and the adjustments made to them in accordance with local custom. Dr Morrill's researches remind us that in the localities (but often, too, at Westminster) methods were more important than policies: had Charles, for example, employed lieutenants to raise his army, his initial success may well have been greater. Most important, the author has provided considerable evidence for the view that most county gentry never attached themselves to one party or the other.

My only criticism of the account is concerned with what is not said. In his concentration on the neutrals, Dr Morrill finds little room to show us how the extremists overrode them, what sort of men they were and why they were more aware of and influenced by the issues between the parties. Studying institutions, administrative procedures and movements, he tells little about powerful men and the influence which they could wield. In a footnote we are told that “a national Peace party leader like the Earl of Denbigh would carry his local support.” How many like him did bring polarization to county politics? Finally, it would be fascinating to know more about the ideas and values of the neutrals. Often they spoke for the rights of the county community; even when they only defended their interests they

Charles I

(from Helme)

The king sits in the woodman's hut,
Watching the woodman's child;
Alone in the hut he sits and sings,
His voice is sad and mild:
Biaopopeia, what's rustling there?
Hark at the bleat of the sheep—
You bear the mark on your brow, you smile
Fearfully as you sleep.
Biaopopeia, the cat is dead—
You bear the mark on your brow—
You will grow up and swing the axe;
The oaks are shaking now.
Gone are the days when the woodman's faith
Accepted everything;
Biaopopeia, their children believe
Neither in God nor king.
The cat is dead and the mice rejoice
And all of us quake with fear,
Biaopopeia, both God up there,
And I, the king, down here.
My heart is sick, my spirit falls,
I feel old and wise—
Biaopopeia, the cradle rocks
In which my hangman lies.
My deathly is your cradle-song—
Biaopopeia, I feel;
You cutting the grey locks off in front,
And on my neck the steel.
Biaopopeia, what rustles there?
I see what you'd be at:
Take over the land and chop off my head,
And that is the death of the cat.
Biaopopeia, what rustles there?
Hark at the bleat of the sheep.
The cat is dead and the mice rejoice.
Sleep, little hangman, sleep.

Laurence Lerner

Jersey's royalist

By William Haley

G. R. BALLEINE:

All for the King: The Life Story of Sir George Carteret (1639-1680). 183 pp. Société Jerseyaise: 9 Pier Road, St Helier, Jersey, £4.50.

The first thing to be said about this work is that although it has needed so ceremonial an occasion as the 200th anniversary of American independence to get it published thirty years after it was written and ten years after its author's death, it is well worth reading in its own right. Sir George Carteret was a more interesting character and led a more eventful life than the subjects of scores of other biographies. He was a strange mixture of nobility and meanness. Avarice was his weakness and his eventual undoing. Loy-

alty was his greatest virtue, doggedly—and, for longer than royalists, successfully—fought the cause of Charles I, without being that treacherous man who had secretly agreed to abandon it, who was ready to betray his country, but not to desert the oppressed administrator and politician who had been his host during two periods of exile in the island.

Carteret was a Jerseyman, I was the Reverend George Balleine's biographer. *All for the King* naturally met detailed in the chapters covering Carteret's flight, his appointment as Governor and Bailiff, his role in the Royalist struggle, in spite of its unimpressive being overwhelmingly for Parliament. The refugee he then found Prince Charles decided his fate. But these years are a little known in Carteret's extraordinarily varied life. And his description is enriched by the detail of Jean Chevalier, “an alert and observant old Jerseyman, who to the keenest interest in all that was happening around him,” recorded it to the extent of a 400,000 words. His picture of a fifteen-year-old Prince and his cavalcade is vivid:

When Charles rode across the island to the Town Church, Sunday, a hundred horsemen went before him; three hundred musketeers followed with drum beating. His chair was placed in front of the pulpit, and the king provided with his books a covered with rose petals. The floor round his feet was sprinkled with sweet-smelling herbs. The senior Commissioner stood at elbow to point out the passage in the Bible to which the preachers referred.

Even the boy cup-bearer at meals held a basin under a prince's chin to protect his clothes from the drink was not overlooked. Such was the care and the number of romantic touches that the world knows Carteret from another diary. Pepsys met him famous (Carteret could establish his worth). But his life of Jersey for the King is eight years in his thirties, his education of the navy in middle age, his part in the sale of Dunkirk and his founding of some American colonies—although it was Charles II who first thought of New Jersey as one of their place-names—was more exciting than his life with the Newfoundland fishing fleet at thirteen, being in France at sixteen, and twenty-three, vice-admiral to the Saltee pirates as twenty-eight, privateer, corsair, a prisoner in the Bastille, and ending his career, though still remaining Vice-Chamberlain of the King's House hold, by Parliament's finding his guilty of misdeemeanor.

It was typical that one of the things that troubled him was that he claimed as Treasurer of the Navy to have paid 10 per cent interest to a goldsmith when in fact he had paid only 3 per cent. All his life, Carteret was a man willing to sacrifice, he would forgo small “perks”. He secreted made better terms for himself than he did for anyone else when he was rendered the Jersey garrison to the Commonwealth. He was a rich man, but however immobilized by debt the navy he would never waver his threepence in the pound. He damned Clarendon in exile, in spite of all he had owed to Clarendon's influence. Carteret was not stingy with his purse.

Balleine's narrative is a model of comprehensiveness and speed. He recorded this full, vigorous, exciting life in 164 pages, the remainder being editor's notes and appendices. Yet he was never dry as dust. He had a discriminating eye for picturesque detail. *All for the King* is a scholarly yet enjoyable addition to what has sometimes seemed an overwritten period of English history. The book is illustrated with good maps, and a full index. Readers for many years to come should be grateful to Philip Veuillot, for remembering that the manuscript was in the archives of the Société Jerseyaise and for recommending its publication, with the help of the States of Jersey, as the island's contribution to last year's Anglo-American celebrations.

Edmund Ludlow: the Puritan and the Whig

By Blair Worden

All students of the Puritan revolution know the *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow*. Member of the Long Parliament, regicide, parliamentary commissioner to Ireland, and opponent of the Cromwellian Protectorate, Ludlow played an important part in the politics of the 1640s and 1650s; but it is on the *Memoirs* that his fame principally rests. They were first published six years after his death. Two volumes, covering the period from Charles I's accession to the Restoration, appeared in February 1698. They caused a considerable stir, and sold unexpectedly well; and in the spring of 1699 a third volume was printed, covering the years 1650 to 1672.

Ludlow composed his narrative during his long exile after the Restoration at Vevey on Lake Geneva. After the publication of the *Memoirs*, his manuscript disappeared. It was known to have been taken by the publishers had taken extensive liberties with it. According to the Tory pamphleteer William Baron, the *Memoirs* were “but the abridgement of many more real” which Ludlow's “party, and printer, thought fit to lick into something of form, contract, and perhaps alter too, as might best serve the present design of promoting the Good Old Cause.” Ludlow had “provided the ingredients” but it was the publishers who had “composed the dish, from a confused heap”; they had “cut off the superfluities of that fanciful Swiss dress” in which Ludlow's manuscript had reached them. In later generations, however, the authenticity of the *Memoirs* has been questioned only by the religious radicalism. The standard—and in most respects superb—edition of 1894, argued that they “have every internal sign of genuineness, and stand every test which can be applied to their contents.” For once, Firth was wrong.

In 1970 the Bodleian Library acquired a manuscript which had recently emerged from Warwick Castle. Its title was “A Voice from the Watch Tower”, and its author was Edmund Ludlow. “A Voice from the Watch Tower” was Ludlow's title for the complete manuscript on which the 1698/9 *Memoirs* were based. Unfortunately, we do not have the complete manuscript. The documents in the Bodleian are the second of three sections of “A Voice from the Watch Tower”, and the other sections remain undiscovered. The first section described events down to 1650. The second section, the one we possess, begins early in 1650 and ends in 1676. The third section took the narrative up to 1685. The Bodleian manuscript is about 40,000 words long, more than five times the length of the corresponding section of the printed *Memoirs*. The complete “Voice from the Watch Tower” must have been nearly a million words long, almost four times as long as the complete printed text.

The 1698/9 publishers, then, cut Ludlow's manuscript heavily. They also completely rewrote it. There is not a single sentence—indeed, there is scarcely a sequence of four or five words—in which the wording of the Bodleian manuscript is accurately reproduced in the *Memoirs*. The sentences of the manuscript are vast and shapeless; the punctuation is anarchic. The publishers, producing prose acceptable to late seventeenth-century tastes, altered Ludlow's style quite beyond recognition. They also recognized that the chief interest of Ludlow's account lay in his narrative of events up to 1660. The farther the manuscript moves beyond the Restoration, the more ruthlessly the publishers cut it, and the more cavalier becomes their treatment of Ludlow's text. Thousands of words are transformed into a single brief paragraph; clauses and sentences are inserted by the publishers to give shape to the story; incidents far removed from each other in the manuscript are stitched together; details are implicitly invented to enliven the narrative. Such alterations were obviously influenced by literary and by commercial considerations. By themselves, however, those considerations do not explain the most striking alteration of all.

Gulzot wrote of Ludlow that he waged war like a gentleman, not like a secretary. That is certainly the impression the *Memoirs* convey, and it is certainly the impression the

text does not suggest that Ludlow entered frequently into Ludlow's political calculations. The principal subjects of religious contention in the 1640s and 1650s, toleration and church government, are rarely mentioned. Biblical allusions, and references to the will of providence, are so infrequent that we find them surprising and indeed jarring when they occur.

The predominantly secular tone of the *Memoirs* could hardly be more different from the tone of the Bodleian manuscript. “Voice from the Watch Tower” is less a “memoir” than a record of a spiritual journey. Ludlow's aim was to produce a document which would strengthen the godly in England during the period of Egyptian bondage after 1660. His manuscript is swamped through with biblical references. Each chapter is prefaced by biblical texts which vividly illustrate Ludlow's search for the pattern of providence both in his own life and in public events. Millenarian and apocalyptic utterances, fortified by frequent references to the Book of Revelations, abound. The entire providence detection-kit is brought out to impress on Charles II the probable imminence of Antichrist's destruction. “The Watch Tower” is less a ghost armies fighting in the sky, huge whales washed up on beaches, children born with two heads and four arms, millions of whittings swarming on dry land.

The manuscript surprises us not only by its religious intensity, but by its religious radicalism. The English Reformation, says Ludlow, had scarcely begun to purify the church; the aspirations of reformers had been checked by Henry VIII, “that monster of mankind.” The Swiss church, he says, had been “but half reformed”; hence Ludlow's politically embarrassing refusal to take communion in Swiss congregations. Ludlow believed in the total separation of church from state, and in complete religious toleration. All insistence on outward forms is a remnant of the Jewish law, preserved solely by the clergy's insatiable itch for domination. Except when quoting his enemies, Ludlow avoids the pagan names of the days of the week, and he usually selects infant baptism, and proclaims that “nothing is more express in Scripture, than that none but believers were subjects of water baptism.” Accused of being a Quaker, he replies that indeed he is, “but his reform of God's word.” Vavours Powell, Edward Bagshaw, Henry Jersey and William Dell are among the sectaries who enjoy his admiration and affection. Only on predestination and the Trinity does he preserve a stern orthodoxy.

When Ludlow describes the exodus of the fellow regicides after the Restoration, thousands upon thousands of words pour from his pen in praise of “those poor innocent lambs of Christ”: at times, the blood of the martyrs seems to run down the pages. Recalling, for example, the death of Miles Corbet at the hands of Charles II's “vipers” and “confederates with hell”, Ludlow states that in 1649 Corbet had refused to join the regicide court until

the day the sentence was pronounced, at which time, that word in Revelation 21.8 viz the fearful and unbelieving shall have their part in the lake that burns with fire and brimstone, being set upon his heart by the Lord, did so work upon him and powerfully drove him, that he durst not any longer absent himself.

The printed *Memoirs* state simply that Corbet had reached his decision “upon more mature deliberation.” Possibly Ludlow experienced some deepening of spiritual introspection in exile; possibly the content of his narrative was affected by the story; incidents far removed from each other in the manuscript are stitched together; details are implicitly invented to enliven the narrative. Such alterations were obviously influenced by literary and by commercial considerations. By themselves, however, those considerations do not explain the most striking alteration of all.

Gulzot wrote of Ludlow that he waged war like a gentleman, not like a secretary. That is certainly the impression the *Memoirs* convey, and it is certainly the impression the

script and the printed text, or for extensive speculation about the contents of the missing sections of the manuscript. But the story of the publication of the *Memoirs*, and of the transformation of Ludlow's personality which it effected, has a broader interest. It forms part of an episode which illuminates the relationship between politics and ideas in the later 1690s, and which can be seen to have exercised a profound influence on the historiography of the Puritan revolution.

Ludlow bequeathed his manuscript to his friend and fellow republican Singsby Bethel. Bethel had visited Ludlow at Vevey in 1662, and had thereafter remained in close touch with him, supplying much of the material incorporated in “A Voice from the Watch Tower.” Bethel's *The Providences of God's Life* which provided fresh evidence about the authorship of *Edmund Ludlow's* *Memoirs*; and the first collected Works of James Harrington (1700).



Frontispiece. From a drawing by R. White, made in 1689—of C. H. Firth, 1894) of The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow.

but in fact compiled by a group of republicans in England who included Bethel and Milton's nephews Edward and John Phillips. The pamphlets, largely concerned with the authority of *Edmund Ludlow's* *Memoirs*, also drew heavily on Milton's *Edmonkates*, reorganizing and abbreviating Milton's text in a manner which, although it lacked the flair of the editorial operation later to be carried out on Ludlow's manuscript, may have provided the model for it.

William Baron believed that Bethel, before his death in February 1697, had been “tricked” by Ludlow's manuscript by “a republican confidant”. What happened to it in the year between Bethel's death and the publication of the first two volumes of the *Memoirs*? The title pages of the *Memoirs* give the place of publication as Vevey; but the blind folded no one. Baron commented: “Had they said at Darby [Toland] been no longer home, and higher truth too;”

I shall consider these matters in an edition of a portion of the Bodleian manuscript to be published in the Camden series by the Royal Historical Society. There, too, I shall supply the editorial apparatus which would not be appropriate in this essay; acknowledge the points at which I am indebted to the guidance and publications of other like-minded and expand assertions and arguments which are presented only briefly here.

any certainly so, by a little quibbling transition from place to person. “This,” Firth accurately remarked, “is equivalent to saying that the *Memoirs* were printed by John Darby of Bartholomew Close, a well-known publisher of anti-governmental literature”; and it is surely correct. Darby was a close associate of two of the publishers who had been responsible for the Ludlow-Bethel publications of 1691/2, Richard Baldwin and Andrew Bell. Between 1697 and 1700 he produced a number of publications whose intimate connection with the *Memoirs* was correctly suggested by contemporaries: pamphlets against standing armies; Algernon Sidney's *Discourses concerning Government* (1689); the collected Works and the Life of Milton (1698); *Amyntor* (1699)—the defence of Milton's *Life* which provided fresh evidence about the authorship of *Edmund Ludlow's* *Memoirs*; and the first collected Works of James Harrington (1700).

John Toland is known to history primarily as one of the fathers of deism. His political and historiographical significance awaits adequate recognition. By 1698 Toland was very well informed about mid-seventeenth-century politics, and had come to identify strongly with the cause of the “Commonwealthman” of the Puritan revolution. He possessed an astonishing capacity for laying his hands, by fair means or foul, on other people's documents, and a readiness to tamper with them. Perhaps Toland was the “republican confidant” who “tricked” Bethel of Ludlow's manuscript; certainly he acquired other manuscripts which had been used by the authors of the 1691/2 Ludlow-Bethel pamphlets. But the strength of Baron's suggestion becomes particularly clear when we discern Toland's connection with the other publications in the series to which Ludlow's *Memoirs* belong.

In 1697 Toland, heavily in debt, secured advances from two publishers: John Darby and Richard Baldwin. Among the works he produced for Darby in 1698 and 1699 were the *Life of Milton*; *Amyntor*; at least one pamphlet against standing armies; and, almost certainly, Algernon Sidney's *Discourses*. Darby also printed, in 1698, *An Inquiry concerning Virtue* by Toland's patron the third Earl of Shaftesbury. Toland revised Shaftesbury's draft for publication; and a comparison between his reorganization of Shaftesbury's text and the editorial operation performed on Ludlow's manuscript suggests strongly that the two ventures came from the same pen.

Another of Toland's publications in 1699 was the *Memoirs of the Civil War* politician Denzil Holles, edited by Toland at the behest of Holles's daughter and Shaftesbury's friend the Duke of Newcastle. The Holles *Memoirs* were plainly published in conjunction with Volume 3 of Ludlow's. They contain an engraving of Holles, and a dedication to Shaftesbury, which was instantly recalled by White's engraving of Ludlow in Volume 1 of the Ludlow *Memoirs*; the dedication is dated March 28, 1699, two days later than the preface to Volume 3 of the Ludlow (and certainly earlier than the preface to *Amyntor*), and the preface to Holles's *Memoirs* states that they are

communicated to the world, that by comparing them with those of Ludlow, and such as have appeared before, or will be published hereafter, relating to the same times, they may afford mutual light to each other; and after distinguishing the personal resentments, or private biases, of every one of them, they shall be considered as they are, and as to whether they are all found to be of different garbs may, by some impartial and skilful hand, be related with more candour, clearness and uniformity.

What were the works which “will be published hereafter”? We can name two. In the preface to Holles's *Memoirs*, Toland announced his intention of publishing the manuscript “Memorial” left by the Civil War general, Thomas Fairfax, a copy of which he had somehow procured; the threat was never carried out by Bryan Fairfax, who managed to best Toland into print with his own version. The second was the *Works of James Harrington*. In 1705, Toland was to recall that he had “published the lives and labours of Harrington and Milton, with some other secret histories, and that these publications had been part of a concerted political campaign with influential political backing; and that they had all been distinguished by ‘their democratical, sceptical, and government’.” It is hard to believe that Ludlow's *Memoirs* were not one of them.

By April 1699, the government, convinced that Toland was an “incendiary,” was seeking anxiously to identify his “encouragers.” He had many clandestine contacts in high places; but the most revealing for our purposes is his relationship with the third Earl of Shaftesbury. That relationship has been obscured by the subsequent estrangement between the two men, and

Baron who was right.

by the fourth Earl's attempt to write the friendship out of his father's life. Most people who befriended Toland soon learnt to renege it; but Shaftesbury, who was a year Toland's junior, took longer than most to see through him. One undated letter from Shaftesbury to Toland, probably belonging to the later 1690s, exudes affection and dependence. Even in 1701, when Shaftesbury had become aware of at least some of Toland's failings, he called himself "your best and dearest friend".

Shaftesbury's political career was dominated by what he called "the much injured memory" of his grandfather, Anthony Ashley Cooper, first Earl of Shaftesbury, leader of the Whig opposition in the crisis of 1679-81. Here Toland saw his opportunity. In 1695 he boasted much of the friendship Lord Ashley Cooper, how he had framed him, and that he should outdo his grandfather. Ten years later, the third Earl could praise his grandfather's contribution to the history of those times, when the foundation was laying for the present glorious ones and for the happy Revolution that gave birth to them. In the later 1690s, however, the "happy Revolution" of 1688 had seemed to him a dangerous business and incomplete. The instruments of tyranny remained to hand. There were "mercenary parliaments", their independence corrupted by an unreformed electoral system, by bribery, by fraud, and by the Whig junta's "compliance with the court", and there were "mercenary soldiers" whose retention by William III after the Peace of Ryswick in 1697 provoked the standing army controversy which raged for two years.

By 1698, when he wrote to his old tutor and friend John Locke of the shipwrecks of English political life, Shaftesbury was willing to adopt radical courses; and it was then that his friendship with Toland began to bear literary fruit. In 1698 they collaborated closely to produce *The Danger of Mercenary Parliaments*; and it was probably Shaftesbury who in the same year sponsored Toland's anti-standing army pamphlet *The Militia Reformed*. Toland's version of Shaftesbury's inquiry concerning *Virtue* in 1699, although later repudiated by the Earl, enjoyed his warm approval at the time. In 1700 Shaftesbury organized the distribution of Toland's edition of Harrington's *Works* in Holland. In the Earl of Macclesfield was sent on a delicate mission to Hanover to safeguard the Protestant succession, Shaftesbury helped to secure Toland a place in the party and it is likely that he encouraged Toland to write *Anglia Libera*, a pamphlet produced in defence of the Act of Settlement and presented by Toland to the Hanoverian court. On Toland's return, the two men collaborated once more to produce *Paradoxes of State* (1702).

Did Shaftesbury sponsor the publication of Ludlow's *Memoirs*? We cannot be certain. Yet it seems almost inconceivable that Toland would have edited them: had not Shaftesbury, at the least, approved of the venture and directed the place of evidence to suggest that he may have done more than approve of it. Shaftesbury longed to "vindicate" his grandfather's reputation by commissioning a biography; and John Locke began work on it. Probably in (although possibly after) 1698, Locke obtained access to Ludlow's manuscript. He copied from it a number of passages, all of them containing hostile accounts of the conduct of the first Earl, and all of them omitted from the printed text. Locke knew Toland well, but by 1698 their relations had cooled. The man most likely to have provided Locke with access to the manuscript is Shaftesbury. Similarly, the omission from the *Memoirs* of all Ludlow's criticisms of the first Earl, although conceivably attributable to veneration for the Earl, is a memory among members of the underground radical movement from which the manuscript emerged, can be more simply explained by the wishes of the grandson.

Ludlow was a regicide, and in the 1690s the execution of Charles I remained a deep embarrassment to Whig ideologists. Yet the *Memoirs* achieved a wide and respectable audience, partly because they read well, but partly too, because they wrote a new view of the Puritan revolution, which seemed to have relevance to the political circumstances of the later 1690s. Regicide was the theme which critics of the *Memoirs* chose to emphasize; but it was not necessarily the theme which

most interested those who derived instruction from them.

Shaftesbury, like his friends and allies in the campaign against standing armies—Lord Molesworth, John Tranchard, Walter Montagu, and others—sought the cure to political corruption in that "ancient prudence" of republican Rome which had been celebrated by Machiavelli and by Harrington. The political ideal to which the classical republicans of the later 1690s aspired can be briefly summarized. At Westminster, MPs would model themselves on Roman senators, immune from the temptations of fear and favour, rigidly subordinating private to public interest, and vigilantly guarding the ancient constitution against the encroachments of prerogative. In their localities, they would train and lead the county militias. If the militias could be reformed, and if the administration of the navy could be purged of corruption, then standing armies, which had destroyed Rome's liberties and which now threatened England's, would become superfluous. The series of publications to which Ludlow's *Memoirs* belong can be seen purely as an attempt to give ideological dignity to the campaign against standing armies.

In its pure form, the classical ideal was as politically impracticable as it was militarily anachronistic. If diluted by the anti-court prejudices of MPs and of their constituents, however, it might have a telling impact. As Toland was quick to point out, the opposition to William's standing army cut across Whig-Tory divisions, and made possible the creation of a powerful country party. Shaftesbury was convinced that the "test reform" for which he called, and which he believed to have been unforgettably deflected since 1688, could be achieved only when parliament were reduced "solely and wholly upon the country bottom". Between 1697 and 1699 his conviction was widely shared.

Of course, the opposition to standing armies was not exclusively ideological. Opportunists were able to exploit ignorance, irrational fears, and resentment at high taxation. But when we find the country Whig Sir Richard Cocks—devout, soul-searching, loyal to the crown, deeply of church and crown yet deeply critical of their abuses—deriving instruction from ancient and modern history about the evils of standing armies, we begin to see how the ideas and the politics of the campaign against standing armies could meet. And when we find Cocks basing a speech in the Commons against standing armies on long extracts from Ludlow's *Memoirs*, we begin to discern the wisdom of the campaign against standing armies, which they could appeal. The *Memoirs* achieved their success primarily as a country party manifesto.

To understand Toland's editorial tactics, it is helpful to recall an earlier attempt to graft republican ideas on to country prejudices: Henry Neville's Harringtonian tract *Plato Redivivus*, published in 1681. In his concluding pages, Neville had built a remarkable prototype, which he had urged members of the Oxford Parliament to imitate, of an incorruptible country gentleman who in the Puritan revolution had resisted the courtly temptations of Charles I and of Cromwell alike. *Plato Redivivus* was republished in 1698, by the widow of Derby's friend and Toland's employer Richard Baldwin.

Toland's Ludlow, too, is a prototype. If the "fanciful Swiss dress" of the manuscript has been removed, respectable country Whig clothes have replaced it; and the comparison in the preface to Volume I of the *Memoirs* between Ludlow's virtues and those of Scipio and Cato gives them Roman trimmings. The text of the *Memoirs* credits Ludlow with decorous platitudes about the function of historical writing which might have come straight from the commonplace book of a 1690s backbench country gentleman, but which in fact are based in the manuscript. Ludlow takes on, too, an engagingly earnest modesty ("For my part, if I may say so, I am not a great man"). The opinion which again is far removed from the "Watch Tower" above all, Ludlow is shown to be politically incorruptible: as resolute public interest, and as scornful of the luxury and corruption of courtly life, as the hero of *Plato Redivivus*.

Country party themes pervade the *Memoirs*. From retrospective passages in the Bodleian manuscript, we can identify the issues which

Ludlow believed to have been most important in the 1640s and 1650s. They are not always the issues on which the radical cause learnt to pre-1660 section of the work. We know from the third volume that Toland very rarely credits Ludlow with political views which are incompatible with the Bodleian manuscript; what he consistently does is to select and to highlight the issues most likely to appeal to late seventeenth-century country sentiment. It must have been Toland, not Ludlow, who decided to give so much less space to the military career of New Model army between 1645 and 1651 than is awarded to Ludlow's exploits as the head of his county forces (where he made war "like a gentleman"), or to the achievements of the navy which had been reformed by the Long Parliament. The villains on the Puritan side on whom Toland concentrates would have been instantly recognizable to country Whigs of the later 1690s: ecclesiastical politicians who betrayed the revolution which had brought them to power; embezzling courtiers and office-holders; janizaries; corrupt lawyers; excise-men; electoral managers; and corrupt clergymen who flattered despots.

The Ludlow who wore country Whig clothes could make acceptable (as the Ludlow of the manuscript could never have done) the historical points which the *Memoirs* convey. It was difficult for politicians, however suspicious of William III, to criticize openly the deliverer of 1688. The way, however, to disguise their criticisms in historical parallels: that is one reason why so much political controversy in the 1690s was conducted as a debate about the 1640s. Toland, Ludlow, and history like causes always produce like effects, especially fond of historical parallels; and as Firth observed, the preface to Volume 3 hints strongly at one particular parallel. Cromwell's gravity, made possible in the first place by the fatal decision in 1651 to keep up the standing army at the expense of the county militia, had not merely destroyed the glorious work of the Long Parliament. By splitting the Puritan army, it had led men to turn back to the Stuarts. In the same way, the tyrannical designs of William's courtiers did not merely threaten the constitutional achievements of 1688/9. They opened the way to a Jacobite restoration, the correspondence of the last years of William's reign shows that he at least, believed the danger to be a strong one.

"Men may learn from the issue of the Cromwellian tyranny," runs the preface to Volume 3, "that liberty and a standing mercenary army are incompatible." In case Ludlow's own descriptions of military intervention in politics, as rewritten by Toland, should fail to clinch the point, Toland inserts into the text of Volume 3 passages about standing armies which have no basis in "A Voice from the Watch Tower". Thus when New Model cavalry regiments welcome Charles II's return in 1660, Toland gives Ludlow the words:

"And I confess, it was a strange sight to me, to see the horse that had formerly belonged to our army, now put to an employment so different from that which they had at first undertaken; especially, when I considered that for the most part they had not been raised out of the meanest of the people, and without distinction, as other armies had been; but that they consisted of such as had engaged themselves from a spirit of liberty in the defence of their rights and religion; but having been corrupted under the tyranny of Cromwell, and become as mercenary as other troops are accustomed to be. A later passage, similarly devoid of any basis in the manuscript, is inserted to assure us that Charles II's decision to dissolve the New Model was not caused by his aversion to a standing army, for the whole course of his life demonstrates the contrary."

Toland's achievement, of course, may well have corresponded exactly to his intention. The *Memoirs* in the preface and the text of Volume 3 are not necessarily those which the first two volumes, published over a year earlier, had been primarily intended to illustrate. We first two volumes, Toland gave Ludlow his country Whig clothes not in order to adapt republicanism to country Whig ends, but in order to convert country Whigs to republicanism. Perhaps we should envisage Toland aiming to provide a reputable intellectual and historical picture of the radical cause which had fallen with the first Earl of Shaftesbury, and which had been abandoned by the Junto Whigs. Perhaps he wanted to show that no honourable, incorruptible country gentleman of the 1640s could have avoided signing Charles II's death warrant, or have failed to perceive that the rule of a single person was incompatible with liberty. There were men in the later 1690s who would have been glad to draw those lessons from the *Memoirs*. But they were not the lessons which Sir Richard Cocks would have drawn; and it is hard to imagine them being drawn by the numerous country gentlemen who bought handsome editions of the work in the eighteenth century. If the *Memoirs* had a radical republican message, they achieved their historiographical status because the message was detachable.

In the creation of Ludlow the country Whig, however, one problem remained: religion. Toland would have been glad to show how glad to remove the spiritual dimension of the manuscript. Ludlow's theology had placed providence at the centre of the political stage: Toland's banished it to the wings. Toland's views were probably of secondary importance. The herbs directed by critics of the *Memoirs* at the few biblical allusions which Toland did let through confirm that, in the late 1690s, the reproduction of what would have seemed dangerously ridiculous cant would have wrecked the *Memoirs*' chances of success.

What would Ludlow's response have been to the rewriting of his manuscript? We can provide at least part of the answer. In 1674, when he had temporarily resolved to bring his manuscript to a close, he ended with this note. "If the Lord please to put a period to my pilgrimage before I have brought this narrative to its perfection, it's my desire, that my dear wife, if living, if not, those of my dear friends, and relations, into whose hands by providence it may fall, should take care that if it, or any part of it, be thought of use unto others, it may not be made public, before it hath been perused, rectified, and amended by some one, or more judicious friends, who have a fluent style, are of the same principles with me, as to civil, and spiritual government, the liberty of men, and Christians, and well acquainted with the transactions of the late times, to whom I give full power to define what he or they conceive to be superfluous, or impertinent, or what they know to be false, to change and alter what they find misplaced in respect of time, or other circumstances, to add what they conceive to be deficient, or may conclude to render it more useful, and agreeable, to that end to clothe it with a more full, and liquid style, and to illustrate what is therein asserted with such reasons, plainness, examples, and testimonies, as they shall think fit. Provided that in the main, they make it speak no other than my principle (which I judge is according to the mind of the Lord) in relation to the government of church and state, Christ's ruling, yea ruling alone by his spirit in the hearts of his people, and carrying on his work in them by his own weapons, which are spiritual, mighty through his blessing for the beating down of the strongholds of sin, and Satan, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ."

Unfortunately for Ludlow, the man who edited his manuscript, although he may have shared much of Ludlow's "civil principle" did not subscribe to his "spiritual" one. That is why it has seemed to generations of historians that Ludlow waged sectarian war. In 1705, Toland claimed of his editions of Harrington, Milton and "some other great writers" in general they greatly contributed to the minds of men, as the effect has shown, an ardent love of liberty, and an extreme aversion to despotism. His boast was more profoundly warranted than he could have known. The chief indications of the series—Sidney Ludlow, Milton, Neville, Harrington—were to become the central texts of the canon of eighteenth-century Whig doctrine in England and America; and the influence was not to be confined to the English-speaking world. Their contribution

to the development of the historical tradition has been incalculable. It was the temporary, tactical alignments of 1697-99, inspired editorial enterprise, which took advantage of them, which made the texts accessible.

Perhaps it is time to count cost. Every manuscript Toland edited disappeared in publication. We have seen what did to Ludlow's manuscript; we must wonder what he did to others. A question mark mark clouds the placid August 1688 *Discourses*. The passages of Sidney's manuscript read out at trial in 1683 are hard to read with the 1698 publication. He had drafted his treatise, he says, only in a "crude and undigested form"; the sheets of the manuscript were full of "the many errors" which "showed that he had not been so much as revised and which rendered them 'unfit for the press'". Sidney's press than Ludlow's; but the printed *Discourses* seem to me to show the quiver signs of Toland's hand. Indeed, we do not need to go back to the first sentence of the *Discourses*, which bears a striking resemblance to the opening passage of *Ludlow's Memoirs*, to suspect that Sidney's text has been revised. There is a reason to believe that Sidney's manuscript would have revealed its author a much closer affinity to the religious radicalism of Charles II's reign than is suggested by printed text.

It is, indeed, in the area of relationship between religion and politics that Toland was most successful historiographer. He was, too, some courageous studies: seventeenth-century millenarianism have tried to meet the challenge which the reconstruction of the relationship presents. The main, however, historians about the Civil War as if the age of spiritual urgency could be wholly in social and economic pulses. Alternatively, we can from the accurate observation of the Puritan revolution, we can ordinate the church to the misleading inference if they wanted to subordinate religion to politics. If pressed to see the combination in a single act of religious conservatism and religious radicalism, we need to see the separate halves as a divided mind. For we remain imprisoned by an assumption which is equally central to the account of Macclesfield, and of the dinner at the dinner table, and of the religious sense—perhaps would say, it does not make a logical sense—for gentlemen to be seen as Tories, or fanatics, or as fanatics, or victims in any of which the latter culled the sense of Puritanism, or for a Tories to have been gentlemen.

The voice which clamours in Ludlow's watch-tower is the pressing evidence I have entered that gentlemen could I all those things. But it is the only evidence. If we read ourselves of the correspondence between leading Puritan politicians, we find the same evidence. May's *Unadvised Letters* if study the manuscripts of Butler Whitelocke (another figure who Puritanism has been embracing by Whig editors), or return to the pages of Sir Henry Vane and Huchingson. If we reflect on the record of Cromwell's relations with the sects: then "A Voice from the Watch Tower" may seem not peripheral but a representative of Toland's edition of *Memoirs* not been published, it had (say) Ludlow's manuscript come to light in the dawn of the nineteenth-century age of *Quaker kritik*, how different might our studies of Puritan politics have been.

Interpretations of the past are sometimes regarded as mere mirrors of the preoccupations of the present. But historical judgment is not affected solely by changes in social or philosophical perspective. Once we overlook the purposes of those whose labours have been made conveniently accessible to us, those texts may come to seem as new as the past we seek to view afresh. John Toland clung insistently that the self-generated force of historiographical tradition, and the early Christian tradition, by their identification and endorsement of documents, to obscure for centuries the true message of the people. Perhaps, in the narrower of the historiography of the Puritan revolution, Toland himself can be credited with a comparable feat.

White men's burdens

By Walter Allen

SVL VIA JENKINS COOK:

From Tobacco Road to Route 66
The Southern Poor White in Fiction
208pp. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Poor whites. In her preface Sylvia Jenkins Cook has a list of various synonyms by which they have been known: "fubbers, crackers, dirt eaters, woolhats, river rats, piney-woods lackies, river rats, sandhill crabs, hillbillies, turkeys, but heads, and factory rats". It suggests not only their geographical distribution and their changing characteristics and occupations but also the contempt in which they have been treated. These are among the oldest of American stereotypes: Mrs Cook has William Byrd, that great Southern gentleman on whose lands the city of Richmond, Virginia, was laid out, coming upon them in 1728 while charting the boundary line between North Carolina and Virginia. The creatures he described in his journal were "bizarre specimens of moral laxity and physical lassitude", the complex results of "dietetic deficiencies and untidy line of descent, which are Anglo-Saxon stock, poor WASPs, and, isolated in their mountains, they retained words and language-patterns still Elizabethan and became the great reservoir of folk-music. Today they survive in the popular imagination as figures in a famous comic strip."

They may still be found in the mountains of Virginia and North Carolina, and other poor whites, closely related to them in their fecklessness and general hopelessness, were identified in the nineteenth century in the industrializing of Georgia and the textile workers of the Piedmont district of North Carolina. They comprise one of the most distinct of ethnic groups in the United States, and Mrs Cook has had a good deal to say about the emergence in American fiction and their appearance as working-class heroes.

She begins by discussing the treatment of the poor white woman as heroine by Elizabeth Madox Roberts and Eugene Glasgow and by T. S. Arthur, novels, in which "poor whites tend to recede to their accepted place on the periphery of life and to their old role of comic villains". There follows an admirable chapter on Faulkner

who, as left-wing novelists were attempting the metamorphosis of the poor white as backward peasant into revolutionary fighter, was reviving "both the humor and the horror" of the poor-white tradition.

In a novel like *As I Lay Dying* one sees Faulkner elevating his poor white characters from an "alien and degrading stereotype". The Bundrens are not in any sense idealized yet, as Mrs Cook says, "the stylistic innovations of *As I Lay Dying* consistently work to humanize and pour water in a way that avoids the pitfalls of pathos and sentimentality". Again, though Faulkner may seem to see the Snopeses as the representatives of an ancient order, a destructive force of the aristocratic values of the old South, Mrs Cook is surely right when she says of the poor whites he depicts, "their folly, absurdity, and avarice associate rather the disintegration of the rest of humanity in his works."

By comparison with Faulkner, Erskine Caldwell was a man of the left, and Mrs Cook properly stresses the part played, among the more notorious aspects of his work, by the economic victimization of the poor whites. Mrs Cook tells us that Caldwell was rebuked by the communists periodical *New Masses* for the cleavage, in *God's Little Acre*, between the proletarian realism of the strike episodes and what he called the "decadent possibilities", presumably of his treatment of the sexual activities of his characters. In fact, Caldwell's attempts to use the poor white to illustrate the possibility of revolutionary change in the social conditions demonstrate the difficulties facing any writer seeking to use the type for other than comic or grotesque purposes. "Much of the pessimism in Caldwell's novels," she writes, "comes from his characters as virtually irredeemable; each generation that survives in Tobacco Road is more damaged than the previous one—scarcely a situation for revolutionary change."

As Mrs Cook points out, the text of *You Have Seen Their Faces*, Margaret Bourke-White's collection of photographs of sharecroppers, black and white, in the South, is as far as he can be, a journalistic reporter. Mrs Cook shrewdly comments:

"When he makes the slightest imaginative move away from reportorial sociology, even in such a small way as writing a dialogue for actual people who he has interviewed, his indignation

rapidly becomes transmuted into fascination with personal eccentricities and tragedies that counterpoint his hopes for masses of poor whites acting in concert to improve their lot."

The total effect of Caldwell's fiction on the American mind has probably been to harden the stereotype of the poor white. Mrs Cook goes on to consider the writers, now, one suspects, largely forgotten, who used in their novels the events attending the strike in 1929 in the cotton-mill town of Gastonia, North Carolina. The workers were poor whites, former sharecroppers or mountain folk; a number were killed. Where Caldwell failed, lesser talents could not be expected to succeed. Nor did Sherwood Anderson in his poor white novels. James Agee's *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* is something else, and Mrs Cook defines Agee's contribution to the literature of the poor white as being to "make them witness to the squalor and joy, the shame and dignity of all human life and to restore to them qualities conveniently lost in the crusades to improve their condition."

Mrs Cook ends her book with a chapter on Steinbeck, whom she sees, surprisingly perhaps, as the novelist who most successfully portrayed the poor white as the instrument of radical change. Surprisingly, because Steinbeck's characters in *In Dubious Battle* and *The Grapes of Wrath*, dispossessed as they are, are not poor whites in the generally accepted sense. If they are poor, they are poor whites transplanted into another environment, a new scene. The very weaknesses of the poor white are turned by Steinbeck into sources of strength; the emotional energy of their religious beliefs becomes the basis of Steinbeck's own variant of social Darwinism. They are enhanced by the analogies implicit in the behaviour of creatures "used" as Mrs Cook points out, "for endurance and the instinct for survival." Their Americanness is emphasized; Mrs Cook quotes the passage: "We're Joads. We don't look up to nobody. Grampa's grampa, he was in the Revolution." Joad's journey westwards is a "re-affirmation of all the qualities that founded a nation in the wilderness." Steinbeck returns to his "okies," his poor whites, trundling on courage and generosity and philosophies of optimism and endurance.

That Purdy is unmistakably engaged in the same debate, and seems to belong to the same other axis of order, is the frequency with which his stories concern people trying, and failing, to produce fiction of various kinds. Eustace Chisholm's adventures, unfilled and eventually consumed by fire, comprise a narrative poem written in charcoal on the pages of the Chicago Tribune (it's the Depression, and Eustace can't afford the writer's conventional materials). *Cabot Wright Begins* is the *Grapes of Wrath* with a variety of forms, linguistic, literary or social, at the point where they have become mere "memorials" of the spirit they claim to house.

This kind of analysis works for *The Nephew*. But Purdy is a very literary writer, and his literary context cannot be ignored for long. Even *The Nephew* is part of an intertextual dialogue, an early statement of which is Sherwood Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio*, that paradigm study of small-town society that so influenced Faulkner and Hemingway. Anderson's book, like Purdy's first two, is a collection of stories. Its preface is in the form of a parable about an old writer who has amassed "hundreds of truths" in a novel never to be published.

And then the people came along. Each as they appeared snatched up one of the truths. . . . It was the truths that made the people grotesques. . . . the moment one of the people took one of the truths to himself, called it his truth, and he was no longer a truth, he became a grotesque and the truth he embraced became a falsehood.

The point is not that Anderson is likely "source" for Purdy, or even that Purdy would subscribe to the relative powers of "people" and "truths" affirmed there, but

Q. How can you keep up with 3,000 titles each year?

A. By becoming a regular reader of The Times Literary Supplement.

The TLS reviews approximately 3,000 books every year covering an immense variety of topics—see for yourself from this issue just how wide the subject range is and more important the quality of the reviews themselves.

Our contributors are chosen for their ability to write no less than for their expertise. Our aim is to cut across academic boundaries and national frontiers without diluting intellectual standards and to serve "the great variety of readers"—or rather the great variety of alert, demanding, independent-minded readers.

For the serious reader and booklover, the TLS is unrivalled; for anyone who wants to keep in touch with significant developments in contemporary thought and writing it is indispensable.

Subscription Rates

By surface mail:	Inland	£16.08
	All other destinations excluding Canada and USA	£14.58
By air freight:	USA and Canada	\$32.00
By air mail:	USA and Canada	\$47.00
	Europe:	£17.88
	Zone A (North Africa, Middle East)	£20.80
	Zone B (S. America, rest of Africa, India, Malaysia, Hong Kong)	£22.38
	Zone C (Australia, Japan, the Pacific)	£24.44

Send this coupon to: The Times Literary Supplement, Subscription Dept., PO Box No 7, New Printing House Square, Gray's Inn Road, London WC1X 8EZ

YES, please enter a one-year subscription (52 issues) to The Times Literary Supplement as indicated.

☐ Payment enclosed

☐ Please bill me

NAME (please print)

ADDRESS

CITY/COUNTRY

POSTAL CODE

